

*W.D. Mowbray*  
1651/110.

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A BRIEF  
EXAMINATION  
OF  
LORD SHEFFIELD'S  
OBSERVATIONS  
ON THE  
COMMERCE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES.

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A BRIEF  
EXAMINATION  
OF  
LORD SHEFFIELD'S  
OBSERVATIONS  
ON THE  
COMMERCE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES.

IN SEVEN NUMBERS.

*Seven Pces*

WITH TWO SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES  
ON AMERICAN MANUFACTURES.

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M,DCC,XCII.

EXAMINATION

REPORT

ON THE

COMMISSION

UNITED STATES

IN THE

WEST VIRGINIA

MANUFACTURES



13



## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Tract which I now offer to the Public, appears exceedingly deserving of the present and impartial attention of Government, of the Legislature, and of the Nation at large.

The Statements and leading Facts will be found to rest on the highest public authority of the **FEDERAL GOVERNMENT** of the United States of America. The Author, by his department in the Treasury of those States, has had the means of the best and most accurate information : and I think it will be seen that he has treated his Subject with that simplicity, (the characteristick elegance of such works) perspicuity, extent of view, moderation and candour which is becoming and of utility on all questions ; and was particularly requisite in this, where passions and prepossessions on either side were to be carefully guarded from the influence of any irritating idea, any dangerously pleasing fallacy, or avoidable obscurity ; and the calmest, most unprejudiced investigation was alike necessary to the great and permanent interests of **BOTH COUNTRIES.**

In the course of the American War, we were in vain reminded, that there is a Tide in the affairs of Nations, as well as of individuals, which once neglected, passes irrecoverably. I will not mix the memory of that inauspicious Conflict with the better omens of Peace and Amity : farther than observing, that a Tide of Commerce, reciprocally beneficial, seems now, at this moment, to be setting in, if Negligence or Jealousy, or some Policy less enlarged than the circumstances and character of both Nations would naturally suggest, do not turn it into another channel.

## P R E F A C E.

Though disunited in government, they have such attractive motives to free and mutually beneficial correspondence, that *Britain* and *America* may be still, as Nature, habit, and sympathy of Principle appear to have designed them, *friendly Shores*, united by the reciprocation of confidence and interests.

At all events, the Statesman, the Philosopher, the Philanthropist, will find ample materials to exercise his thoughts in the small Tract which is here laid before him: such a view of the political situation, the natural advantages, general or particular, of *THE UNITED STATES*; their population, agricultural produce, manufactures, trade and commerce; and incidentally of *this*, and the other great commercial nations of *EUROPE*, I believe, is hitherto, in no other work to be obtained.

On inquiry, I have reason to suppose, that very few copies, to say the least, can have been in any hands in England. With the author, *TENCH COXE, Esq. Assistant Treasurer* to the government of the *UNITED STATES*, I am unacquainted. No letter accompanied the work, but a mere memorandum in the title page, informing me to whom the commercial World is obliged for so valuable a Production.

Being therefore no way restrained by any wish to the contrary on the part of the Donor, either express or implied, I gladly make public in *this* Country what is already so in *America*: thinking it the common interest of *both*, that a Work like this, in the subject and in the treatment of it, should be fully known.

CAPEL LOFFT.

Troston-hall,  
Near Bury, Suffolk,  
23d February, 1792.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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**T**HIS Examination was commenced in the American Museum for March 1791, and continued in the months following, as circumstances permitted, till July last. Further reflection and opportunity have produced additional facts and some relative considerations, which are intermixed with the original materials of the six numbers already published, or are contained in a *seventh number* and the two additional notes on manufactures, at the end of the pamphlet.

It is possible that a question may have arisen, why an examination of a work, first published in 1783, should have been instituted in 1791? The Observations of Lord Sheffield have gone through six enlarged editions; and the same writer having disseminated ideas, very unfavourable to the United States, in his book upon the commerce of Ireland, it was conceived that a developement of his errors was due no less to those who are misinformed in Great Britain, than to those interests which are not understood in this country. It has been frequently observed, that when American affairs are discussed in Europe, Lord Sheffield's work is quoted with symptoms of conviction and belief. Under circumstances like these, an examination of his allegations, predictions, and remarks, even at this day, will not, it is hoped, appear unseasonable.







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ERRATA.—P. 85. Note, l. 4. read *gunpowder*.

P. 88. l. 29. read *injudicious*.

P. 104. Note, for *finest* read *freest*.

P. 116. l. last, read *family*.

*Note omitted in No. 5, page 67.*

Is there any reason why an enumeration of the inhabitants should not take place in this island? Is there any obstacle to its practicability, any inconsistency in it with freedom, more in *England* than in *America*, or in ancient *Rome*? Do not we owe the attainment of this point to philosophy and true policy?







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## A BRIEF EXAMINATION, &c.

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### FIRST NUMBER.

**T**HE facts and observations of this writer have, in the opinion of many of his countrymen, so firmly endured the touchstone of experience, that an attempt to demonstrate errors in both, may appear to deserve little attention. The brevity, however, which is intended to be observed, may induce the parties concerned, to give these papers an attentive perusal.

It is remarked, in the last edition of the publication referred to, "that a knowledge and consideration of the American trade should dictate to Great Britain the measures she ought to pursue." The good sense of that observation, in relation to the time when it was written, is admitted without hesitation, and it is considered as equally proper, in regard to the present. It is believed, indeed, to comport most perfectly with the dignity and true interests of nations, not to induce into injurious grants those foreign powers, with whom they may find occasion to treat. No observations need be offered, to show the respectability, which is acquired by negotiations conducted with a liberal and magnanimous policy. It will be sufficient to remark, that arrangements, solidly founded in the mutual

interests of the contracting parties, will always be satisfactory to the intelligent part of their respective citizens, and consequently most permanent; but that injudicious grants of unreasonable advantages, especially if obtained by deceptive means, dishonour the character of the overreaching party; lead to murmurs among the people of the mistaken nation, often to expensive and bloody wars; and give immense hazard to the commercial enterprizes, which are usually instituted in consequence of new treaties. It may be considered, therefore, as wisdom in negotiating nations, diligently to search for their *common interests*, as the fittest ground of treaty. In order to discover *these* with ease, and to view them with just impressions, it is a measure not only of primary importance, but of indispensable necessity, to remove established errors in the publick creed. It is not by way of apology, that these prefatory remarks are offered to all concerned, but to show, that a rational pursuit of the interests of their respective countries, should lead both Americans and Englishmen, to develop the errors, in regard to facts and opinions, discoverable in a publication, which appears to have been the cause of a change of measures in the British nation, or to have been intended to vindicate one which it was predetermined to make.

It is not proposed to go into a full and regular reply to the writer of the Observations, but rather to point out so many real and essential errors in his facts and predictions, as may shake the unlimited confidence which has been reposed in him by his countrymen, in order to lead to a different legislative deportment towards to us. Little regard will be paid to order, in this cursory examination; but any important object, which presents itself, will be briefly noticed.

### THE CARRYING TRADE,

in the opinion of Lord Sheffield, is lost to the people inhabiting these states, by their choice of independence. Let us examine the proofs. His seventh table states the



inward tonnage of all the British provinces in North-America, in 1770, to have been 365,100 tons. From this amount are to be deducted the entries in Newfoundland, Canada, Nova Scotia, the two Floridas, the Bahamas, and Bermuda, being 33,458 tons, which leaves the entries in those provinces that are now the United States, at 331,642 tons. We are also to deduct the ships owned by British subjects, not resident in those thirteen provinces. *Champion* considers these to have been nearly the whole in the European trade, it is believed erroneously; but they must have been very considerable; yet the return of entries of American vessels for the last year, rendered by our treasury to the house of representatives, though known to have been incomplete from inevitable causes, amounts to above 363,000 tons, exclusive of fishing vessels\*.

It is manifest, then, that the carrying trade, which results almost unaided from an agriculture that fully lades 650,000 tons of vessels to foreign ports, is considerably greater than what we enjoyed as British provinces. A very beneficial coasting trade (employing above 100,000 tons) has moreover grown up, partly from the variety of our productions and mutual wants, and partly from the introduction of manufactures, which it was believed we could never attain, and with which Great Britain alone used to supply us. The building of ships has also increased, as we undertake hereafter to show, and the tonnage owned by the merchants of the United States, or late American provinces, was never so great as at the present moment. It is believed, moreover, that the American carriers derive greater profit from the business, than the British nation, who build ships two-thirds dearer, and who maintain themselves in what they possess of the carrying trade, at the expense of great bounties out of their publick treasury, by burdensome restrictions on all their dominions, but the island of Great Britain; and by regulations to favour their shipping, which increase the price

\* On numerous coasters not being entered, but only renewing their licences in that trade, once a year, form no part of the 363,000 tons.

*of raw materials* for their manufactures, and of bread and other *food* for their workmen and for their poor.

### BEEF AND PORK,

in the opinion of our author, are not likely to become considerable articles of export, so as to interfere with Ireland for some time. The medium annual quantity exported from the United States, before the revolution, he states at 23,635 barrels. Our treasury return, for the last year, exhibits 66,000 barrels, besides 2,500 barrels of bacon, 5,200 head of horned cattle, and an equal number of hogs. The medium price of the pork was thirty-seven shillings sterling, or about  $7\frac{1}{4}$  dollars per barrel, and that of beef twenty-eight shillings sterling, or about  $6\frac{1}{4}$  dollars per barrel. Besides this exportation, 263,000 tons of foreign vessels, in a great degree, and all our own, were victualled from our markets. But a moment's reflexion will convince any man who knows this country, that it will, in the course of a few years, offer to all foreign nations such quantities of salt provisions, especially of beef, as must seriously affect Ireland, where that article is sold at eight dollars per barrel. It is a fact no less curious, than important to our provision trade, that the French fleet has been supplied with beef in the port of Boston, at prices lower than the then current value of wheat-flour in any of our seaports, although our exports of the latter article are fourteen times as great as those of Ireland. The owners of the interior lands of the United States, on which settlements have but lately become considerable, find a particular advantage in the raising of cattle, because those animals transport themselves to the seaports at a very small expense.

### TEAS.

It is known to persons acquainted with American commerce, that teas of various kinds form a very considera-



ble proportion of our importations. The rich and the poor consume them freely. Their value, as they were entered in our custom-houses, for the year preceding the first of October, 1790, was 2,784,000 dollars, which is about a seventh of our imports. On this very capital article of commerce and consumption, Lord Sheffield hazards the following opinions—

“ That as the English East India Company can afford to sell this tea, on full as good, if not better, terms, than the Dutch, or any other nation in Europe, *there is no danger of losing the American market.*

“ That the allowing of the drawback upon teas exported from Great Britain, will generally enable the English *to command the tea trade to America.*”

His Lordship had forgotten that Canton is an open market, *equally accessible* to all nations. The American ships have accordingly gone thither, not only in the ordinary seasons, but in those, *which usually restrain European expeditions.* The United States produce the great article of *ginseng* in large quantities, which renders this trade peculiarly convenient to them. The teas, imported by our merchants directly from China, in the last year, were *two millions six hundred and one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two pounds*, which is fully equal to our consumption, could we obtain coffee, and the requisite quantity of Muscovado sugars, of which our people are universally and passionately fond. There were imported also from Europe, 416,652 pounds of teas, shipped from foreign ports, *other than British*, to the extreme disadvantage of the shippers, and to the great injury of our merchants. But the values of commodities in any two markets are the best illustration of the relation of those markets to each other. The article of tea will therefore be passed over, after the following statement of the current prices on a given day in America and Great Britain.



In Philadelphia, on the 5th day of November, 1790, after paying the duty inward.

Sterling.

Bohea,  $1/3\frac{1}{2}$  or 30 cents,  
Souchong,  $3/4\frac{1}{2}$  or 75 cents,  
Hyson,  $4/6$  or 100 cents,

In London, on the 5th day of November, 1790, after deducting the drawbacks of 12l 10s per cent.

Sterling.

Bohea,  $1/5\frac{1}{2}$  or 32 cents.  
Souchong,  $4/6$  or 100 cents.  
Hyson,  $6/$  or  $133\frac{1}{2}$  cents.

The same circumstances, which facilitate and insure the attainment of the requisite quantity of teas, not only by means other than British, but indeed by *American* means, certify to us the acquisition of the necessary supplies of porcelain, nankeens, silks, and all other China commodities: and upon the whole, we dare venture to appeal to the Books of the inspector general of the British commerce, when we affirm that Great Britain does not supply us with a fortieth shilling of the various kinds of China merchandise, consumed in America, though they probably fall little short of a sixth of our importations.

### SALT FROM EUROPE.

This article, the writer of the Observations says, will be taken indiscriminately from Europe: thereby misleading the government and people of England into a belief, that they will have a chance of supplying a considerable proportion. The quantity imported into the United States, from various countries, in the last year, was 2,337,920 bushels; besides which it was manufactured in interior situations. The price of salt in Kentucky, where it is home made, is about one-third of the market rate at Pittsburgh, where foreign salt is used.

The British salt is what is called *fine* in America, from the small size of the crystals. Of this kind the price is greater than that of the coarse, and not a twentieth bushel was imported before the present year, it being little used but at the table, and inconvenient to transport to the interior country; but the new duty, near the eighth of a Mexican dollar, will render its importation very unpro-

fitable in future. A bushel of rock or alum salt, as it is termed, from the size of the crystals, will go as far in use, as a bushel and an half, or two bushels of the finer kind; and the duty is equal. The price, as before observed, is less. Besides, our grain and lumber ships to Portugal, our tobacco ships to France, our corn, flour and lumber ships to Spain, our vessels to the Cape-de-Verd and West India islands, are accommodated by ballasts of salt, which is cheap and abundant in those places. It never fails to yield some profit to the owner of the ship, (though it will very seldom pay a freight) and it is exceedingly beneficial to the timbers of a vessel. The liberation of this article in France will occasion it to be better made there in future, and the French will consequently supply us with larger parcels than heretofore. The approximation of our settlements to the salt springs, and the increase of white population on the southern sea coasts, will occasion great additions to the quantity made at home. Should any impediment be thrown in the way of the reception of our lumber and other coarse articles, and of our vessels in Great Britain, the importation of salt, and indeed of most other coarse British articles, will be exceedingly diminished, as they are brought now to ballast our return vessels. —It appears, on examining better documents than were procurable at the first publication of this paper, that our British lumber trade had induced a greater return in salt, than was at that time supposed; and as truth is the sole object of this examination, the error is made known without hesitation.

### SHOES,

Our writer says, were, and must continue to be imported in considerable quantities, and principally from Britain. 'Tis probable that not less than eight millions of pairs of shoes, boots, half-boots, guetres, slippers, clogs, and goloshoes, are annually consumed in or exported from the United States. Our population proves to be near 4,000,000; and if each person wears a quantity of

the above shoemakers' wares, *equivalent* to two pairs of shoes per annum, the number will be made up. If the medium value be taken at 75 cents or  $3/4\frac{1}{2}$  sterling per pair, this valuable article will amount to six millions of dollars. Of this prodigious quantity, only 70,450 pairs of shoes, boots, &c. were imported into the United States in the last year. Tanned leather, weighing 22,698 pounds, was exported within the same time, and 5,700 pairs of boots and shoes. Of *unmanufactured* hides, only 230 were shipped abroad. Leather and shoes were sent in some degree from the western country. The leather branch is the *second* in England, and it is equal to one-fifth of their staple manufactures. Our shoemakers' wares alone appear to be more in value than one-fourth of our exports: and as New-England is our greatest cattle country, and the most advanced in handicraft manufactures, it is plain that its inhabitants must be in a considerable degree indemnified for the effects of those regulations which operate a diminution of their fisheries. The coarser oils, it may also be observed, are demanded in large quantities by the leather dressers, whose requisitions of them will increase with our population, and exports of leathern manufactures.

### PAPER.

This article, it is alleged by our author, will continue to be sent in considerable quantities from England; and that although some coarse paper for Newspapers is made in America, is not equal to the demand. From a return made to the manufacturing society of Philadelphia, it appears, that there are forty-eight paper mills in Pennsylvania alone. Five more are building in one county of that state. Others are known to exist in Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and New England. The United States, till very lately, were insensible of the facility with which this branch can be carried on, of the profit which results from it, and of the great degree in which it is established. The treasury of the

United States, and the several banks, have paper of the most perfect kind, specially made for them: the printing of books has increased in an astonishing degree: and factories of paper hangings are carried on with great spirit in Boston, New Jersey, and Philadelphia. In short, there are abundant proofs of establishment and progress towards perfection, in this valuable branch, in which every thing is made, as it were, *out of nothing*.

## RUM.

It is the opinion of Lord Sheffield, that the whole of the *West India Rum* used in America, except a small quantity from Demarara, and some from St. Croix, may be supplied by the British islands. The following scale may be relied on, as the present state of this business in the United States. If the whole quantity of melasses, of distilled spirits imported, and of distilled spirits made at home, of fruit and grain, should be divided into 132 parts, it would stand thus:—

	parts
Melasses imported would be	60
British, Danish, and other rum, taffia, brandy, geneva, arrack, cordials, and other distilled spirits imported, would be *	37
Spirits distilled from the native fruits and grain of the United States would be at least	35
Total	<hr/> 132 <hr/>

It is ascertained, that the British spirits are not more than 21 parts of the second item of 37; and it appears that the *West India Rum*, supplied by all nations, is reduced to about one-fourth of our consumption and sale to foreign na-

\* There is reason to affirm, that the first articles have decreased, and that an increase in the quantity of the article which follows them, has taken place.



tions of distilled spirits. How long we shall continue to take even that proportion, is very uncertain. Breweries are multiplying: their value is becoming manifest. Grain and fruit distilleries are rising up every where. From interior situations two gallons of spirit, extracted from a bushel of rye, can be brought to markets where it will realize to the farmer two-thirds of a dollar for his grain, at less expense than if made into flour, and carted to the same spot. The country is abundantly supplied with stills: and were the British islands to be refused our flour and grain by their own government, as lord Sheffield advises, this country would be compelled to indemnify itself by making grain spirits and malt liquors in lieu of their rum, which is reasonable to suppose we should no longer import; and indeed the exportation of liquors of all kinds, made from grain, will probably become very considerable. Some countries refuse our flour: and the freight to Europe is a heavy charge upon grain. This will induce brewing and distillation, even when markets abroad are not bad; but when prices in Europe are very low, we shall be more strongly impelled to them. Fruit spirits must be made continually, and will add much to the aggregate of distilled liquors. The grain consumed in Great Britain, in their breweries and distilleries, is computed to be twenty-four millions of bushels, though they are obliged to import considerable quantities of wheat, oats, flour, &c. and though they have rum colonies to support, and to supply them with spirits. Holland also carries on the liquor manufactories to a great extent, though unable to feed itself. The ability in the United States to do the same, cannot be doubted, and will certainly increase. The facilities, which are or may be granted to our ships and trade by foreign nations, who make spirits from the vine, the cane, or grain, will induce returns in brandy, rum, or gin, which will diminish the American demand for British rum.



*The idea that the United States are a country, sui generis.*

This position the writer of the Observations treats as perfectly whimsical—as a figure of rhetoric conveying no distinct idea, or an effort of cunning, to unite, at the same time, two inconsistent characters. Yet it will not be difficult to demonstrate to an unprejudiced mind, that the circumstances, in which the people of these states were placed, were different from those of any other nation; and that there were some peculiarities in them, considered with respect to British affairs, which rendered it a serious question, whether they did not require a particular arrangement. It is true, that the citizens of the United States had “renounced the duties of British subjects,” or, in other words, that they had assumed an independent station: but this measure was fully justified, if we may so speak, by Britain’s abandoning the ground, which produced the war—the *assertion of the right to bind the people of America in all cases whatsoever*. It will be acknowledged, too, that we manufactured less at that time than any other nation in the world; consequently we were a more profitable commercial connexion. We shipped, in proportion to our population, more raw materials, and provisions, which they want, than any other nation; for it appears we load 650,000 tons of shipping, and that their cargoes are almost entirely unmanufactured. We were, by much, the first customer for British manufactures; for it appears by their exports for 1784, that the greatest value was shipped to the United States, being £.3,648,007, sterling, including no raw articles; and that the next greatest foreign shipment was to Holland, being only £.1,277,480, part of which was for German consumption—and that in the year 1785, also, the greatest value was shipped to the United States, being £.2,308,023 2s. sterling, and that the next greatest foreign shipment was likewise to Holland, amounting to £.1,605,303, part of which was not manufactures. The exports to Russia in each of those two years was less than half the exports to New York or Pennsylvania. It is to be remembered, too,

how great a proportion of the British export trade these shipments to America constituted. In 1784, their whole exportations were £. 15,733,847,——and in 1785, £. 16,770,228\*.

In addition to goods from Britain, we took very large quantities of linen and other dry goods from Ireland, and an enormous value in rum, and other produce of their West India islands; and further we were a nation of planters and farmers, whose quantities of unimproved and uncultivated lands were manifold greater than those which were or are yet brought into use; and consequently a great and constant demand might be reasonably expected to exist for those supplies, which Britain, upon reasonable terms of intercourse, would be able to furnish. Our distant situation, and the transportation of goods, which will lade 650,000 tons of shipping, were circumstances favourable to the carrying-trade of our liberal connexions and allies, which no other country presented to Great Britain. We have hitherto suffered her to participate freely in this, for it appears, that in the last year, 230,000 tons of British vessels, a fourth of all their private ships, were loaded in our ports.

If then the United States actually furnish the most solid items of British foreign commerce—if the raw materials they afford be the essential elements of a large proportion of the British manufactures—if our demands from that nation be not only much the largest, but also of kinds the most profitable to them—if our peculiar situation would have drawn us, in a greater degree, than any other country to agriculture, and from manufactures—if our language, our religion, our theories of liberty and law, were the same as theirs—the idea of our being a people *peculiarly* circumstanced, such a people as exist not elsewhere, can-

\* Recent and authentick information warrants the assertion, that the United States, for six years subsequent to the treaty of Paris in 1783, imported more goods from Great Britain than were imported from thence by any other country, by the difference of at least half a million of sterling money, and probably more, though their exports to foreign nations were composed in part of our tobacco, rice, indigo, &c.

not, in candour, be treated as fanciful: and, indeed, did not the seriousness of a subject, which involves the interests of two nations, suppress every feeling, which might tend to obscure them, the indecorum and acrimony, with which this and other pages of "the Observations" are soiled, ought not to pass without due animadversion.

The prosecution of this examination will be continued in a subsequent paper. In the mean time, what has been already thrown out, may be duly and temperately considered. The present season is interesting and critical. The policy, which the United States ought to observe, in *the legislation of commerce*, is likely to be formally discussed. At such a moment, facts, accurately ascertained and candidly stated, are of the utmost importance; for how shall we so well reason, as from what we know? It is to be desired, that *the light of indisputable truth* may enable our own legislators and those of foreign nations, to discover the ground of common interest, and that no erroneous maxims, however sanctioned, may close one avenue of mutually beneficial communication.





## SECOND NUMBER.

**I**T was premised, in the first number, that no particular attention would be paid to order in this examination. We shall therefore proceed to remark upon timber, scantling, boards, shingles, staves, heading, and hoops, under the general denomination of

## LUMBER.

These articles are of the greatest importance to the Irish provision trade, to British commerce and manufactures in general, and particularly to the profitable management of West India estates. Lord Sheffield is of opinion, that "most of them may be imported from Canada and Nova Scotia,, on as good, if not better terms, than from these states;" and that "Nova Scotia will, at least for some time, have little else to depend on, but her fisheries, provisions, and cutting of lumber." But the experience of 1790, seven years after those provinces began to regain order, instructs us, that there were shipt in that year, from the United States to Nova Scotia alone,



540,000 of staves and heading, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 shingles, and 16,000 hoops.

The legislature of Jamaica (the imports of which island directly from the United States, might be estimated, in 1784, at half our shipments to the British West Indies) accompanied their address to the British parliament, with proofs that only 20 bundles of hoops, 301,324 shingles and staves, and 510,088 feet of lumber, were imported into that island, from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, between the 3d of April 1783, and the 26th of October 1784, a term of nearly nineteen months! It appears probable, then, that they did not supply their West India brethren with more than one half of what they import, at this mature stage of their settlements, from us. It is to be remembered, that Jamaica drew no supplies of our lumber through the Dutch and Danish islands; though the Carribee, or more windward islands at that time did. From 1768, to 1772, only 36,100 shingles and staves, and 27,235 feet of lumber, were shipped annually from the northern British colonies to the island of Jamaica.

In another page of the Observations, we are told, that hoops, staves, and boards may be sent out to the West Indies from England, "because the freight is lower than from the United States." Here again, the writer of the Observations is unfortunate in his proposed means of supply; for it appears, that there were shipped, in the year above mentioned, to the *European* dominions of Great Britain, 13,306,000 staves and heading, 3,000,000 feet of boards, 4,000,000 feet of timber, 253,000 shingles, and 6000 hoops. We learn, too, from Mr. Anderson's history of commerce, that there were imported from England to the West Indies, in 1787, the value of £.80 12s. 5d. sterling and no more, in boards, staves, and other lumber, towards the supply of the demand of those islands, which Lord Sheffield admits to have been, in 1770, about thirty-five millions of boards, scantling, staves and hoops, and fifteen millions and a half of shingles. It will appear to him an extraordinary fact, (and must excite a smile in the gravest countenance,)

that the balance of the lumber account between Great Britain and her West India colonies, is actually against the former: for we learn, from another of Mr. Anderson's documents, that there were shipped thither from those colonies, between Michaelmas 1786, and the same day in 1787, £.3070 13s. 11d. sterling, in boards, staves and timber. But if the project of shipping from Europe were as rational as it is wild, what would become of the low freights, upon which it is in part founded? The lumber actually taken by the British West Indies from the United States, "exhausted," as this writer misrepresents them to be, would load all the vessels that depart from Great Britain to the West Indies; for it would fill above 100,000 tons of shipping; and a large quantity of tonnage would still be required for the coal, malt liquors, wines, loaf sugar, candles, soap, provisions, cordage, bale goods, nails, tallow, lime, carriages, &c. which are constantly shipped thither from Europe.

The price of lumber, in London and the United States, have been gravely compared; and December 1783, was taken as the common season. It is unnecessary to lose time in disproving an allegation about a period so long passed, which, however, could be satisfactorily done, or to animadvert upon the suppression of the price of boards in which we had so much more the advantage. Our publick returns from the several ports, which cannot be supposed to undervalue the article, nor indeed do they vary materially from the shipping prices, give the medium rate of  $12\frac{2}{3}$  dollars or £.2 17s. sterling for red oak and white oak staves, and heading, fit for barrels, hogheads, and pipes. The prices of staves vary exceedingly in the different markets of the United States; and that which was selected by the writer of the Observations, is known not to be among the cheapest. Even there, the article is at this time thirty per cent. below the quotation in the Observations. But we have already noticed the very large exportation of lumber from the United States to the British European dominions, which alone is a sufficient contradiction of the fact, and is a satisfactory correction of the Observations.

The following statement of the prices in St. Domingo and Jamaica will not be deemed uninteresting, as tending to shew the rates at which French and American vessels supply the former, and British vessels supply the latter, although the home dominions of France were incapacitated from furnishing their usual quantity of provisions.

At Kingston in Jamaica, 1790.

	June.	Oct.	Nov.
	dolls.	dolls.	dolls.
Super. flour, p. lb.	10.20 to 10.50	7.50	7.50 to 8.25
Common do. do.	9.37½	6.75	7.12 to 7.50
Ship bread, do.	5.25	4.50	4.87
Indian meal, do.	5.25	4.50	5.25
Rice, per 100 lbs.	3.37½	4. 2½	4.50 to 5.25
Pork, do.		14.	12.
Hams, per lb.	.12½	.16½	.15
Butter, do.		.15	.15
Pine boards,	24.	27.	30.
R. O. hhd. staves,	24.	31.	27.
Wooden hoops,	30.	36.	30.

At Cape Francois \*, 1790.

	July	Oct.	Nov.
	dolls.	dolls.	dolls.
Superfine flour, per bbl.	10.	6.50	6 to 6.50
Common do. do.	9.	5.	5 to 5.45
Ship bread,	3.52		
Indian meal, do.	3.64	2.50	
Rice, per 108 lb.	3.50	2.91	
Beef, do.	6.6	7.	7. to 8.
Hams, per lb.	.9	.9	.9
Butter, do.		.9	.12
Pine boards,	15.76	12.12	10.91
R. O. hhd. staves †,	14.	16.	12.

N. B. Wooden hoops vary in Cape Francois from 14 to 28 dollars.

\* The duties, from one to 12½ per cent. are included.

† The French West Indians use very few white oak hhd. staves, making little rum, or taffia, and having a sufficiency of old casks, in which brandy has been imported.

It is not easy to ascertain the precise degree in which the British islands are supplied with lumber from their own dominions : but much light is thrown upon the inquiry, by the information of the Jamaica legislature, and it appears, that the British European ports furnish none. Their northern colonies are proved to import from us now, more than they exported in 1784: and as our return of exports of lumber to the West India Islands, for the last year, exceeds the quantity shipped thither before the revolution, the supplies from Canada and Nova Scotia, even now, must necessarily be very inconsiderable\*.

The state of Georgia, which is penetrated by large rivers, would probably furnish more lumber and timber than the British dominions will require in the next twenty years. It can be cut at all seasons, from the nature of the climate, and her ports, which are most conveniently situated, to supply the West Indies (though Lord Sheffield says, those of Canada are more so!) are open in the middle of winter. The improvement of the inland navigation of South Carolina will bring into the abundant lumber market of Charleston, a new and large supply. North Carolina has very great magazines of timber, and the opening of the Pasquotank canal will give it to all the ports of the

\* After the first publication of this examination a proclamation of the Governor of Nova Scotia was received in the United States, permitting the importation of every species of lumber, from hence into that province, for six months of 1791, during all which the St. Lawrence is free from ice. As they would have preferred to draw their supplies during the term of the licence, from Canada, if that country could have furnished them; and as lumber does not depend on seasons, and is not, like crops of grain, liable to sudden failures, an irrefragable proof is afforded, that Canada cannot supply the demand of *Nova Scotia*, much less of the West Indies, and that *Nova Scotia* wants population, or timber, or both, to enable her to furnish lumber enough for her own demand. It seems highly probable, that without our lumber, the *West India* trade of the northern British colonies would suffer deeply, they having neither grain, flour, biscuit, nor lumber, to fill up the vessels, which take out their parcels of fish; and, it is also probable, that a prohibition on our part, were we inclined to it, would affect their fisheries, by enhancing the price of casks for its package. The cost of casks in *Nova Scotia*, at this time, is a heavier charge on their fish, than our impost, as it now stands.



**Chesapeak.** The middle and eastern states are more exhausted ; but large quantities will long be exported from the Delaware, much larger from the Hudson, and still greater from the province of Maine.

## NOVA SCOTIA AND CANADA.

Great reliance is placed by this and other English writers on the supplies, which may be derived by the West India islands, from the northern British colonies. It has been already shown, that they hitherto afford little or no lumber. Of rice and naval stores they cannot furnish any, producing none. Of flour, Canada can yet have supplied but a small proportion, having few mills, having to support cattle through long winters, and her climate preventing shipments during half the year \*. The voyage is a very heavy one, being long and on a single freight. Nova Scotia can never supply much of this article, and has taken from the United States above 40,000 barrels of meal and bread, within the last year, besides 80,000 bushels of grain. Canada is too remote to send supplies of cattle, hogs, sheep, and horses ; and our exports of these animals to Nova Scotia, prove they have not yet any to spare. Of horned cattle 899, of horses 12, of sheep 2,244, of hogs 267, and of poultry 2376, were shipped from the United States to the northern British colonies, in a little more than one year, from the autumn of 1789 to that of 1790. Very little beef, pork, hams, tongues, tallow, lard, butter, cheese, candles, or soap, can be spared to the West Indies, by countries which import black cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry.

The documents adduced by the Jamaica legislature went further to shew, that between the 3d of April, 1783, and the 26th of October, 1784, they had received, in

\* Canadian flour will always be subject to spoiling, as it must be made in summer.



that populous and extensive island, from Canada, St. John's\*, and Nova Scotia, no flour—no Indian corn, beans, or oats—no bread or other biscuit—no Indian or other meal—no horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or poultry—10 barrels of rice—180 bushels of potatoes—751 hogsheds, 37 tierces, 39 half tierces, and 457 barrels of fish, 45 barrels of oil, 100 oars, 710 shaken casks (or puncheon packs) 21 masts and spars, with the small parcels of lumber mentioned under that head, and no other goods. They also shew, that all the imports of Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, were, on an average of the five years, from 1768 to 1772, but 33 barrels of flour, 7 hogsheds of fish, 8 barrels of oil, 3 barrels of tar, pitch and turpentine, 36 thousand of shingles and staves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

How far it has been in the power of the northern British colonies, or of the British European dominions, to furnish their West Indian islands with flour, bread and Indian corn, will further appear from the following facts. It is stated by Lord Sheffield, that there were imported from hence into those islands, in the year of great plenty and trade, before the revolution, 132,426 barrels of flour and biscuit; but our returns for 13½ months, already mentioned, shew that their late demand from us in that term was 139,286 barrels of flour alone, and 77,982 barrels of Indian meal, middlings, ship stuff, rye meal, and biscuit. Their former annual supply of Indian corn, re-cleared from hence, was 401,471 bushels; and their recent importations prove to have been 516,794 bushels, in the space of time stated in our late return.

It is unnecessary to dwell longer upon the supplies which the remaining British American colonies were expected to afford to their West India plantations. An experiment of years has been fairly made—The returns from their custom houses, and from those of the islands, will inform the government of Great Britain what they really furnish at this time, and the proportion it bears to the whole demand. This head will therefore be passed over with the reiteration of a few remarks—that the British West India

\* Meaning New Brunswick.

islands are proved to have been indebted to the United States, in 1790, for more lumber, more grain, and more bread and flour, than they imported from these states before the revolution—that their remaining colonies can therefore have furnished them, in their present mature state but in very small quantities—that those colonies have required of us near half the amount in cattle, hogs, and sheep, which the West India islands formerly took off—and that the high prices of wet and smoked provisions in the British West Indies, which are greater than those in the French islands, where those articles are prohibited or heavily duties, fully prove, that they depend for them on Ireland alone, and receive no sensible relief from the British American colonies. Their inability to furnish supplies of provisions to the West India islands is fairly to be presumed from the proclamation of the Governor of Nova Scotia, already mentioned, which, besides the article of lumber, permits the importation from the United States, of grain, flour, biscuit, cattle, sheep, poultry, &c. through the whole season of 1791, when the St. Lawrence and Bay of Fundy are certainly navigable, and the province of Canada is exporting its surplus produce.

#### LINSEED OIL.

This article is said, in the Observations, to be made in some parts of America, from the refuse of the flax-seed, and that the quantity is trifling, compared with the consumption. It is added, that considerable quantities went from Britain to America, before the war; and the English nation are left to believe, that this will continue to be the case, though they actually import seed from hence to make oil.

The growth of flax is exceedingly increased in this country, and particularly in interior situations. Oil mills having become more numerous, the seed in those inland places is manufactured into oil. This will bear an expense of transportation, which so bulky an article as the seed

cannot sustain. Hence the present price of linseed oil, after it is brought down to the Philadelphia market, is about  $2/1$  sterling, while the price in London is from  $2/3$  to  $2/4$ . The Irish demand for our seed is about 42,000 hhds.: after deducting that, the remainder must be made into oil here, or shipped to Europe for that purpose. This manufactory being effected by water mills, there can be no doubt, that the former disposition of the surplus seed will be made.

### PAINTERS COLOURS.

Several of the ochres are found in abundance in Virginia, Connecticut, and other parts of the United States. The interior situation of the Virginia lead mine, which now yields very copiously, will soon occasion the manufacture of white lead, and of all the preparations of lead, from the same cause that has been mentioned in the case of linseed oil, and rye spirits—economizing in the transportation. The patent colours have been imitated with great success. The trade with Holland and the German towns, as also with the Mediterranean and the East Indies, gives us many colours that were formerly imported from Britain, like apothecaries articles, at immense advances.

### COACHES AND OTHER CARRIAGES.

The importation of these was formerly very great. Virginia, in 1788, had 360 coaches and chariots, 365 phaetons and other pleasurable four wheeled carriages, and 1,967 one horse chairs and solas. New Jersey, in 1789, had 38 coaches, chariots, and phaetons, 1,549 one horse chairs and solas, and a very great number of plain decent light waggons, on steel or wooden springs. From these facts, and similar ones in the other parts of the union, it is certain that the pleasurable carriages of the United States would amount to a very large sum. Though to be obtained on credit from England, no more than £.5,000 sterling in carriages, or parts of carriages, were imported in the year following August

1789, including those of numerous travellers and emigrants: and 220 carriages were exported to foreign countries, within the same year. All the wood and iron work, the harness and other leathern materials, frequently the brass work, fringe, lace, and lately the plated work, are made in America. Lord Sheffield seems to have expected a considerable importation of these articles: but he did not advert to the possibility, that the manufacturers themselves would emigrate to us: which is every day taking place.

### “ MEDICINES AND DRUGS

“ Will be imported from Great Britain,” says the writer of the Observations, “ on account of the knowledge, which the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, in the American States, have of the method of preparing and procuring them there.” Men of the requisite skill from other countries are to be found in most of our principal seaports. To these, many of the chemical and Galenic operations of Holland, France, and Germany are not unknown. Saltpetre, musk, camphor, rhubarb, and other East India articles in this line, have been shipped occasionally from the United States, in considerable parcels. Bark, sulphur, balsam capivi, and many other medicinal productions, have been obtained from Spain, the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and other places. Holland participates largely in our importations of chemical preparations; but many, which used to be imported, are begun to be manufactured here: and exportations of them to advantage, have, in some instances taken place. The knowledge which our medical gentlemen have acquired abroad, and in their professional reading at home, of the methods of procuring drugs, has been communicated to our merchants: and their information of the methods of preparing chemical articles, has been often put in practice here. There is, no doubt, a considerable trade in these commodities from Great Britain. But it is, even now, affected by the above circumstances, and is not by



any means a monopoly. From our free and enterprising commerce, the natural productions of the country, and chemical skill, it must decrease every year. Great Britain possesses, from nature, less of these commodities than the United States. Foreign trade, and skill employed at home, will give us a great share of those which are not spontaneous productions of our various soil and climate.

*Nails, spikes, and other manufactures of iron, and those of steel,*

Are placed second on the list of articles, in which it is alleged Great Britain will sustain little competition: and Lord Sheffield remarks, that "whatever we make of them, is at the expence of at least three times the amount of what the same articles could be imported from Europe." The iron branch is highly important and growing in the United States. In Massachusetts, there were seventy-six iron works, many of them small, in 1784. The Virginia works make above 5,300 tons of iron. The sitting and rolling mills of Pennsylvania, are ascertained to cut and roll 1500 tons or 3,360,000lbs. per annum: and so completely do they obviate the objection of manual labour, which is constantly urged against American manufactures, that they employ but twenty-five hands. In that state, there are also sixteen furnaces and thirty seven large forges: in New Jersey alone, in the year 1789, the number of forges were seventy-nine and of furnaces eight. And though the details are not so well known, they are very numerous in Maryland and most of the states. These works are annually increasing, and particularly in interior situations. The nails and spikes consumed yearly in the United States, (calculating on 4,000,000 people, at ten to a house, including negroes, which gives 400,000 houses) allowing ten pounds for the average use of all the persons living in each house, in building, repairing, fencing, and in their business, and manufacturing, would be 4,000,000lbs. Of this quantity there were imported in the returned year, 1,800,000



lbs: and about 2,200,000 pounds must, therefore, have been made at home. The remainder of the slit and rolled iron is either exported or made into tire, hoops, springs for carriages, or some substitute for foreign importations. Ship-building also demands very large quantities of iron work. Plough-shares, carriages, axes, saws, hoes, spades, shovels, and kitchen utensils, and many other articles employ the American workers in this raw material. About one-half of the steel, consumed in the United States, is home made, and new furnaces are building at this moment. The works being few, and the importation ascertained, the fact is known to be accurate. Bar iron before the revolution, was usually sold for sixty four dollars. It fell, after the war, to the same price; and large quantities of iron in bars and pigs were exported. The progress of manufactures has raised these articles to the highest prices ever known in peace; and only 200 tons in bars, and 3555 tons in pigs were exported in thirteen months and a half of 1789, and 1790. The exportation of this quantity was principally to throw the requisite weight into the bottoms of ships laden with cargoes of tobacco or lumber. Lord Sheffield states, that we shipped 2592 tons of bar iron, and 4624 tons of pig metal per annum, in several years before the revolution, when it is known our commerce and population were not at the highest. It is also to be observed, that we now import considerable quantities of bar iron from the Baltic and its vicinity, particularly into the eastern States. One thousand two hundred and eighty-eight tons of bar iron, were imported from St. Petersburg alone, in the year 1790, and above forty tons of iron hoops and nail rods. From these facts may be collected convincing proofs of the state of the iron manufactures of this country, strongly opposed to the presumptions of Lord Sheffield, as well with respect to the dearth of those manufactures, as the monopoly of our supplies.

## FLOUR AND WHEAT.

These inestimable commodities are not, in the opinion of Lord Sheffield, the best staples for the United States to depend on; because, as he observes, in general the demand in Europe is uncertain. He again repeats his unfounded notion of a competition between us and Nova Scotia for the supply of Europe, in these articles; and adds, that it is a fortunate consequence of American independence, that the British European islands may regain the supply of their West Indies, with bread and flour, and that they can furnish them cheaper than we. In regard to the prospects from Nova Scotia, enough has been already said, and particularly till they discover symptoms of internal resources for their own use, by ceasing to import grain and flour from the United States. As to the European corn trade, authentic and important information, indeed, is to be derived from a report of the British Privy Council, of March, 1790, which is said to have been drawn by Lord Hawksbury. It is wisely observed, in that report, that the culture of grain is the most important object that can receive the public attention; and it is stated that the demand of Great Britain, for flour and grain, has produced an average balance against the nation, of £291,000 sterling for the last nineteen years, although from the year 1746, to the year 1765, they had annually gained, by their corn trade, £651,000 sterling on a medium. Ireland, it is true, has greatly increased its exports of grain, flour, and biscuit, but by no means in proportion to this falling off by Great Britain, and its whole exports of flour and grain are much less than our shipments to the British West Indies. Their Lordships proceed to state, that in consequence of information received by them from the principal corn countries of Europe, they are of opinion, that the quantity of grain raised in Europe, in common years, is not more than equal to the ordinary consumption of its inhabitants; and that, in the event of a failure of their crops, *a supply can only be expected from America.* In verification of this formal official communi-

cation, on a subject of high importance, we find, that the influence of the late scarcity in France, not only pervaded all Europe, but was extended to the most interior counties of these states. Wheat was sold on that occasion three hundred miles from the ocean, for prices that have been usually acceptable in our sea port towns: and at the places of shipment, it was advanced to rates beyond what had ever occurred since the settlement of the country.

When we remember, that by grain liquors we may avoid the purchase of eleven millions and a half of gallons of the spirits, or ingredients for spirits of foreign nations; that by grain these states are rendered the alternate ground of dependence of every European nation, in time of need; that we are protected from the possibility of dreadful famine by this blessed production; that grain is the raw material in which some considerable manufacturers work, and which all must necessarily consume; we must smile at the ideas which Lord Sheffield has hazarded, in regard to those precious staples, Wheat and Flour.

### GUNPOWDER,

It is asserted, will be imported cheaper than it can be manufactured in America. The price of this article has been reduced in the Philadelphia market, to sixteen dollars, or £3 12s. sterling per 100 wt. by the free importation of brimstone and saltpetre from India and other countries. Our merchants usually pay for it in England at the rate of 75 to 76 shillings sterling, after deducting the drawback on exportation. Twenty-one powder mills have been erected in Pennsylvania alone, since the year 1768 or 1770—much the greater part of them since the commencement of the revolution war: four new ones are now building in that state, one at Baltimore, and others in different parts of the United States; and it is certain they will be multiplied in proportion to the demand, whether it be for home consumption or exportation. Of the quantity commonly in

hand in the Philadelphia magazine, no more than seven per cent. is of a foreign manufacture. Saltpetre and sulphur are found in considerable quantities, particularly in the interior parts of Virginia: but at present the commercial supplies are so plentiful and cheap, that our internal resources are little used. Saltpetre is cheaper in Philadelphia than in London.

*The ability of Great Britain to make her ships the carriers for the United States.*

It is explicitly declared, in the 39th page of Lord Sheffield's Introduction, that the adoption of the ground proposed by him, will insure to British ships the carrying trade of the United States; "for (he adds) it is certain, if our navigation laws be maintained, it will not answer the Americans to keep many ships." This, it will be admitted, is, to us, if true, a very interesting position, and demands our most serious attention. It will, however, be very easy to show, that the private shipping of the United States does not depend upon British laws. The tables, that accompany the Report on the American fisheries, from the department of state, clearly prove, that we are not dependent on Great Britain, for that branch of commerce. In the regulation of our coasting trade, which employs about 100,000 tons of shipping, and which will increase with our population, manufactures, and use of coal, British laws can have no operation. In our commerce with the Baltic, and the North, with the Netherlands, the Hanse towns, France, Spain, Portugal, the Streights, most parts of Africa and India, and the colonies of the European nations, except the British, their navigation act cannot affect us. It appears moreover, that our ships are so "many," as to have amounted to 360,000 tons of vessels laden in our ports, by a return which is incomplete, while those of Great Britain and her dominions were 225,000 tons. But it is possible, that considerable deductions from the British tonnage may happen. There is little doubt that the diminutions of our importations from their dominions, which have ta-



ken place, in regard to China merchandise, and other India goods, Russian, Dutch, and German goods, paper, nails, sheet iron, steel, shoes and boots, gunpowder, lead, coal, salt, malt liquors, loaf and brown sugars, coffee, cocoa, and spirituous liquors, by reason of our intercourse with other nations, and the improvement of our own resources and manufactures, will be followed by further commercial acquisitions from liberal nations, by the constant introduction of new foreign manufactures, and the discovery and attainment of new internal resources. If, for example, cotton be raised and imported, and spinning mills be erected, Manchester importations will decrease: if flax and hemp be raised and imported, in greater quantities, and flax and hemp spinning mills be erected, sail-cloth, sheeting, and shirting linens, checks, oznaburges, table and towel linen, &c. will be imported more sparingly. If by these and other means, our imports from Great Britain should be finally reduced to such a sum, as will purchase only so much rice, tobacco, and other articles as its people consume, those articles will not be shipped indirectly to foreign countries, through British ports, as is now the case. These indirect shipments give British vessels more than an equal chance in the competition with ours from America to England; because the property is generally on English account, and it gives them so far the command of the carriage from England to other parts of Europe. From these circumstances, it will be perceived, that it is interesting to our private shipping, and consequently to our success in the establishment of a navy, that we continue, by prudent and salutary means, to decrease our importations from each foreign country, so as in a greater degree to equalize them with the consumption, which that country actually makes of our productions: this, however, it is conceived, ought not to be attempted, by any precipitate or coercive means; but by the establishment of our mercantile credit in other countries, by commercial enterprise, capital, and manufacturing industry.

A second cause, which renders the intercourse in the shape of exportations to Great Britain inordinately great, is to be



found in the old private debts due to that country from this. These, so far as they will be paid by money or goods, are considerably diminished. The rise of our stocks, and the sales of them to foreigners, have enabled many to lessen those debts : and British subjects will continue to find it their interest to buy into them. These are payments, which occasion only a remittance of the interest : and the commutation of private for public debts is therefore to be desired. Part of the old debts which remain due to the English merchants, must be received in the soil and buildings of this country. When these shall be accepted by the creditor, they will remain immoveable : and he will find himself, or his child, transformed into an American freeholder, to his profit and that of the United States, though to the injury, and sometimes the ruin, of the unfortunate debtor. This change of the creditor's situation, will not be displeasing to a liberal mind of any country, and, if properly understood, may meliorate the prospects of the families and connexions of many who are concerned in American debts. A country, of great native strength, becoming energetic, intelligent, free, not disposed to provoke either insults or injuries, and in a situation not to submit to a wanton imposition of either, holds out as great promises of human happiness, as any, of which the foreign creditor can have been a citizen. He is sure of a kind reception, and of the protection of the laws and constitution.

A third cause, which has produced an extraordinary intercourse in the shape of importations from Great Britain, has been the want of credit from other nations. We now annually import from Great Britain about 900,000 dollars, in articles not of her growth, produce, or manufacture ; and though we have reduced this from about 2,200,000 dollars since the separation of the two countries, there is yet that great value expensively, because circuitously, imported. The pursuit of the accustomed track, established in the time of the old British monopoly, has been one cause of these unnatural importations—but the chief cause was *the credit* we found from England. The British merchants will probably continue to afford the greatest accommoda-

tions of this kind; but it is evident, that the citizens of other countries will furnish us with credits, and sometimes in more eligible shapes. They will give us their cash articles and their coin, to be employed in ready-money trades at home and abroad, in manufactures and foreign commerce. In proof of this may be adduced the respondentia credits in India and China, the purchases into our public funds and several bank stocks, the investment of monies in our lands, and in our navigation, trade, and manufactures. The medium imports from Great Britain for several years before the revolution, appear, from European accounts, to be to the medium imports for an equal term of years antecedent to 1790, as 27 to 23, though our population has probably almost doubled; and though much larger importations than heretofore, by persons intending to remain here, have also contributed to swell the quantity in the latter term. What is to follow in this way, time, it is believed, will very quickly show.

In addition to the foregoing causes, which seem likely to occasion a diminution of the proportion of shipping employed directly and indirectly by Great Britain in the American trade (including the exportation of our productions from the British ports to other markets in Europe) one other, which does not seem to have sufficiently engaged their attention, may produce, it is believed, considerable effects. The regulations of the British navigation act do not appear to have been duly examined by other powers, with a view to the adoption of such of them as will apply beneficially to their own affairs. If they have had effects so favourable to the shipping and naval power of Britain, it is possible they might be, in a greater or less degree, beneficial to other countries. The present appears a fit season for such an examination: and we cannot suffer, if we enter on it with temper and discretion. That it would diminish the number of British vessels, for example, if the United States and all other maritime countries, should deem it expedient to enact into a law of their respective nations, the clause of the British statute, by which the importation of all foreign goods is confined to native bottoms and to those of the nation producing the

articles, cannot be doubted. Whether this regulation will be convenient to the United States—to France—to Spain—to Portugal—to Russia—to Prussia—who, exporting twenty or thirty times the bulk of goods, that Great Britain ships, do not enjoy a part of the carriage for foreign nations, equal to what she possesses, is a question those nations are severally to consider and determine. Facts, in the mean time, are interesting. In the year 1772, as Mr. Anderson informs, the imports and exports of the Baltic were made in 6680 vessels, of which the British were 1894, the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Russian only 45. The commodities carried thither (in addition to their own manufactures) were the produce and fabrics of all the countries of Europe and of the East and West Indies, which, by their navigation act, could not have been imported into Great Britain in like manner. The same may be said of the cargoes they brought away, so far as they were carried directly to the ports of other nations, or were reshipped from their own ports in their original form. The same writer states the British entries in Lisbon, in the year 1788, to have been 351, and those of Portugal, in her own metropolis and emporium, to have been only 283. The Spaniards had but 31, the Russians one, the Prussians one, and Dantzickers one. By the same authority we are instructed, that the British entries in Malaga in 1787, were 189, the Dutch 24, the Portuguese five, the Russians, Prussians, and Dantzickers, none. In the year 1788, the British entries in Cronstadt, the port of the City of St. Petersburg, were 252; those of Russia, though in her own capital, were only twelve, of Spain six, of Portugal two, of Hamburg and Bremen five. In the year 1790, the British entries, in the same port, were 517 out of 932: and we have recently seen, that the British have supplied themselves and the other nations of Europe, with cargoes of our commodities amounting to 230,000 tons, while those Europeans carried for themselves no more than one-sixth of the quantity. It is not intended to discuss, in this place, the policy of adopting so momentous a regulation as that alluded to, observations on which are rendered peculiarly delicate by

the situation in which it is placed by the national legislature. The instance, it is conceived, however, will forcibly inculcate the utility of the examination suggested in the beginning of this paragraph, and will lead to useful reflexions on the consequences, which such an examination may induce. The facts, by which it is illustrated, appeared too serious and important to Americans and to foreigners, not to be adduced. It will be perceived, that it is equally the interest of those who are Englishmen, to consider the effects of such an examination of the British trade laws, and of those who are not. Some of the convictions, which such an inquiry, made with judgment, would create in the minds of candid men, would probably be, that Great Britain cannot make her ships the carriers for the United States; and that rather than make the attempt, it would be better far to commence the formation of liberal arrangements, solidly founded in the mutual interests of the two nations.





## THIRD NUMBER.

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**I**N the prosecution of this examination, our attention is drawn to the article of

### FINE AND COARSE HATS.

The writer of the Observations remarks, that the high price of wool and labour must induce the Americans to import the felt and common hats. The increase of our population, as in other new countries, has been accompanied by an increase of the quantity of wool. Sheep have been found, on frequent and fair experiments, to be very profitable to the farmer. Importation, though hitherto casual, has supplied us with some wool. Hatters are found in every part of the United States. The following table, which was contained in a report made by a committee to the Manufacturing Society of Philadelphia, will show the state of the hatting business in Pennsylvania, and discovers a fact little known to her own citizens, that 12,340 hats are annually made in the four counties beyond the Allegany mountains.\*



	Hatters.	Fur hats.	Wool hats.
In the City and County } of Philadelphia,	68	31637	7600
Montgomery, - - -	10	800	1000
Delaware, - - -	14	1500	4000
West-Chester, - - -	14	1300	4000
Lancaster - - -	16	3000	15000
Dauphin, - - -	10	1200	4000
Bucks, - - -	12	1000	1000
Berks, - - -	38	2200	54000
York - - -	26	2600	30000
Cumberland, - - -	16	1300	9000
Northumberland, - - -	10	700	5000
Northampton, - - -	12	1000	7000
Bedford, - - -	8	800	2000
Franklin, - - -	10	800	2000
Luzerne, - - -	6	400	1400
Huntington, - - -	6	1400	2000
Mifflin, - - -	6	400	2000
Westmoreland,* - - -	10	600	3000
Fayette,* - - -	7	400	1540
Allegany,* - - -	6	400	1600
Washington,* - - -	10	800	4000
	315	54,237	161,140

From this return, it appears that every country in the state participates in the hatting business, there being none but what are in the above list. †

The United States are found to contain near 4,000,000 inhabitants, and of that number the whites are conjectured to be about 3,300,000. If a hat per annum be allowed for every third person of this last number, 1,100,000 hats per annum, would be a supply for the United States, and the above 215,000 made in a single state, may be considered as more than equal in value to one-fifth of the demand, a quarter of the number being of fur. It is to be

† The County of New London, in Connecticut, contains seventeen hatters, who make yearly 10,000 wool and fur hats.

remembered, that leathern hats and fur caps are not rarely seen in the interior country. This branch has not grown up suddenly in America; but was commenced among our first manufactures, and has made a regular progress with the population. The furs of the country have at once held out a strong temptation and afforded the easy means. Latterly, the increase of wool has given a great extension to the manufacture. The practical difficulties, suggested by Lord Sheffield, can gain little credit under so successful a course of the business: but the truth is, that few handicrafts are more quickly acquired by apprentices.

## B O O K S.

"All school and common books," in the opinion of Lord Sheffield, "may be sent cheaper from Britain, than they can be printed in America." The great and constant increase of paper mills in the United States, the extension of those longest erected, the establishment of typefounderies, and the introduction of engravers and bookbinders, have made a greater change in regard to *the business of book printing*, than has happened with respect to any other equally valuable branch of manual art.\* The Latin and Greek school books are imported in greater numbers than heretofore; because our population is considerably increased, since the separation from Great Britain, and the use of them is too limited to render an edition profitable: but a very great proportion of the English school books (which are in general use) are printed here. Of some kinds there are none imported; and several of them, with alterations and improvements, have been published. A number of the law books, which are most demanded, have been reprinted with advantage: and an edition of the *Encyclopædia*, in fifteen large quartos, containing about five per cent. more matter than that printed in Great Britain, is now publishing at seventy dollars,

\* The advertisement of a single book-store in Philadelphia, published in the gazettes of the present year, contains seventy editions of different books printed in the United States.

or fifteen guineas—precisely the price charged to *subscribers* for the British edition. The cuts in the American copy are equally numerous, and are really the best.

There are two circumstances, which will establish the book printing business in this country—the opportunity of publishing immediately, for the American demand, all books in every European language,\* within the term of the copy right; and the printing of moderate sized and plain editions, instead of the large, ornamented, and expensive copies, which are now the fashion in Europe. A superb quarto, on the best vellum paper, with an elegant, but unnecessary copper-plate frontispiece, richly gilt and lettered, (the dress in which modern writers often introduce their works) costs more than is agreeable to the people of this country, who desire valuable matter for their money. The freight, duties, and other charges of importation, depending either on the bulk or value, are very much enhanced; and our printers find it easy to embrace the opportunity which these circumstances afford them, to furnish their countrymen with a cheap octavo, and sometimes even a duodecimo, in its stead.

German school books are much demanded in this country, as may be supposed, when it is remembered how numerous, in the United States, the persons are, who read and speak that language—probably 150,000 to 180,000 of our people. These books are either imported from Holland, or the Hanse Towns, or printed in America.—England supplies none of them.

The extension of the French language, together with the intercourse between the United States and that nation, which took place in the year 1776, and the alliance in 1778, with which it was followed, will naturally be supposed to have increased the demand for French books. These are principally imported from France, the Hanse Towns, Holland, and Flanders; and some few are printed in America.

\* The first premium for excellency in printing was adjudged by the Pennsylvania Manufacturing Society to the publishers of a book in the GERMAN language, in the inland town of Lancaster.

Books in these two languages could not be imported, before the revolution, from any country, except Great Britain: but are now drawn, as above mentioned, from other foreign sources, or the American printing presses.

*That the Americans will in future give a preference to British manufactures before all others—that it will be a long time before the Americans will manufacture for themselves—and that our demand for British goods will increase in proportion to our population.*

The manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland are very generally good, often excellent, and almost always as handsome as the nature of the article will admit. Yet, there are not wanting proofs, that we shall take considerable quantities of goods from other countries. Twenty-two ships, for example, arrived in the United States from St. Petersburg, in the year 1790, with cordage, ticking, drillings, diaper, broad linens, narrow linens, printed linens, crash, sheetings, raven duck, Russia duck, nail rods, and rolled iron for hoops. The remainder of their cargoes were bar iron, hemp, and flax, which were intended to be manufactured here. Nankeens, silks, long-cloths, porcelain, and some small articles, are imported regularly from China: and muslins, plain, striped, figured, and printed, with silks, and a variety of other articles, are imported from India. It being manifestly injurious to the manufacturing interest of every nation in Europe, even to import, and much more so to consume, these goods, there can be no doubt, that they will be supplied to us in the East Indies, with more readiness every year; and if a few more callico printers were to establish themselves among us, the importation of printed callicoes and cottons might be exceedingly diminished. The importation also of dowlas, Oznaburghs, Ticklenburghs, and other German linens, and of Haerlem stripes, and tapes, from Bremen, Hamburgh, and Amsterdam, together with the manufactory of every ton of hemp, and almost every ton of flax, which we



raise or import, has very much affected the British and Irish linen trade. It appears from various documents, that the average exports of their manufactures to the United States for several years prior to the year 1789, were near half a million of dollars less than the average exports of several years immediately antecedent to the war, though our population has probably doubled in the last twenty-five years. It is not improbable, however, that the great quantities of goods shipped since 1789, in consequence of the jealousy of American manufactures, the apprehensions of a rupture with Spain, and the efforts of the British cotton manufacturers to banish East India goods from our markets, would show a considerable increase in the last and present years. In short, the United States are an open market; the American merchants are men of judgment and enterprise; and consequently the goods of every country in the world, which are adapted to our consumption, are found in our warehouses. It is certainly true, that among them there are very large quantities of British manufactures, being much and justly approved, and being imported on convenient credits by our merchants, and copiously shipped by British merchants and manufacturers on their own account, to their correspondents here; if properly conducted on both sides, it may yet be a very beneficial trade to the two countries; but it has not excluded the valuable goods of other nations, nor has it prevented a great progress of our own manufactures, particularly in the family way. Cordage, gunpowder, steel, nails, paper, paper-hangings, books, stationery, linseed oil, carriages, hats, wool and cotton cards, stockings, shoes, boots, shot, and many other articles are made in considerable quantities, some of them as far as fifty per centum on the demand, and others in quantities nearly equal to the consumption. Liberal wages, and cheap and excellent living, free from any excise, except a very small one (compared with any in Europe) upon spirituous liquors, operate daily to bring us manufacturers and artizans in the manual branches; and we are beginning to see the great, and to us, the peculiar value of labour-saving machines. The rate of



annual labour is no objection against them, but absolutely in their favour ; for it is clear, that they yield the greatest profit in countries where the price of labour is the highest. The first judicious European capitalists who shall take good situations in the United States, and establish manufactories, by labour-saving machines, must rapidly and certainly make fortunes. They cannot, it is presumed, be long insensible of this ; but if they should continue so, the appreciation of our public stocks will probably bring some of our own capitalists into the business. The public creditors, the owners of perhaps fifteen millions sterling, of now inactive wealth, might at this moment do much towards the introduction of the cotton mills, wool mills, flax mills, and other valuable branches of machine manufacturing. It is past a doubt, that were a company of persons of character and judgment to subscribe a stock for this purpose, of 500,000 dollars in the public paper, they might obtain, upon a deposit of it, a loan of as much coin from some foreign nation, at an interest less than six per cent. Was such a company to be incorporated, to have its stock transferable as in a bank, to receive subscriptions from 400 dollars upwards, to purchase 500 or 1000 acres of land well situated for receiving imported materials and exporting their fabrics—were they to erect works in the centre of such a body of land, to lay out their grounds in a convenient town-plat, and proceed with judgment and system in their plan, they would be sure of success in their manufactories ; they would raise a valuable town upon their land, and would help to support the value of the public debt\*. Were a few establishments like that described to take place (and there are room and funds for many of them) even the manufactories of *piece goods*, of every kind in which machinery could be applied, would soon be introduced with profit into

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\* This measure, which was in contemplation at the time when these papers were written, has since been digested and commenced. The capital already engaged amounts to above 250,000 dollars.

the United States. It cannot, on cool reflection, be expected, that a country remote from all the manufacturing nations, and able to produce the requisite raw materials, will continue to depend on distant transmarine sources, for the mass of her necessary supplies. The wonderful progress of other nations, which have commenced manufactures under disadvantages much greater than any we have to contend with, will powerfully incite us to exertion. Until the year 1667, a piece of woollen cloth was never dyed and dressed in England. This great manufacture was quickly after improved by the skill of foreign emigrants, (a mean at our command); and so rapidly has the woollen branch advanced, that it was estimated, in 1783, at the immense sum of £. 16,800,000 sterling (above seventy-four millions of dollars) per annum, and was equal in value to all the exports, and superior to all the revenues of Great Britain. It may, perhaps, be asked, why manufactures were not established in the late war? Any man, who makes a comparison of a variety of branches as they were in 1774, and as they stood in 1782, will perceive a great advance to have taken place, though manufactures were little encouraged, through the intermediate eight years, by reason of the total occupation of government in the prosecution of the war: their importance moreover was not duly estimated. The British manufacturers, who can now emigrate with the greatest convenience, then viewed the people of this country as enemies. Neither they, nor the people of other nations cared to risque themselves in an invaded country, nor would they hazard a capture in their passages hither. Notwithstanding these impediments, the manufacturers of the United States have been found to be the most successful competitors with those of Great Britain in the American market. They have not made fine linens, fine cloths, silks, stuffs, and other articles requiring a great degree of skill, labour, or capital; but they have made common cloths of linen, woollen, and cotton, steel, nails, sheet iron, paper, gunpowder, cabinet work, carriages, shoes, and fabrics of the simple but most important kinds. \*\*\* See the supplementary note

*concerning the progress and present state of American domestic or household manufactures, which follows, No. VII.*

*That it would be impolitic in Great Britain, to admit American vessels into her West India islands.*

This is a very momentous question to Great Britain ; and therefore whatever may be the real merits of it, the people of that country might have been expected to consider it with first impressions unfavourable to the admission of foreigners. It is also probable, that the Americans may have taken a partial view of the subject, from the interest they have to obtain a participation in the British West India trade. There are two positions of Lord Sheffield, relative to this subject, which appear conformable with truth and reason, and in which it is of great consequence, that we should, on mature reflection, agree. The first is, "*That the cultivation of the British West India islands might be carried much farther than it is,*" which he supports by observing, "*that the produce of the island of Jamaica might be trebled at least.*" The second is, "*That the nation which may hereafter be in possession of the most extensive and best-cultivated sugar islands, will take the lead at sea.*"

If the first of these positions be true, both in regard to the British West Indies in general, and the island of Jamaica in particular, then it becomes a matter of the utmost importance, by reason of the second position, to adopt the best possible system for promoting the cultivation of the vacant lands and improved estates in the several islands. Persons, who have contended with the difficulties and expences of settling new plantations, and who are acquainted with the management of West India estates, will be sensible, that cheap supplies of building materials, and other necessary incipient articles, give the greatest facility and certainty to those who are struggling to effect a new settlement : and keeping down the contingent expences of planting and raising produce, and of packing and preparing the crop for market, is manifestly a sure mean of increasing the pro-

fits of an estate. In this point of light, it must be immensely against the British West India producers of 7,500,000 gallons of rum, and 2,000,000 cwt. of sugars, with cotton, coffee, pimento and other articles, that they receive their staves, boards, provisions, and other supplies, on terms so much higher than the French, the Dutch, and the Danes. While the islands of France were furnished in the last year, by French and American bottoms, with red oak hoghead staves, at 12, 14, and 16 dollars—with hoops, at 14 to 28 dollars—with pine boards, at 11 to 16 dollars—with Indian meal, at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  dollars per barrel—with ship bread, at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  dollars, and with rice, at 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  dollars per 108 pounds; the British planters in Jamaica were obliged to pay for red oak hoghead staves, 24, 27, and 31 dollars; for wooden hoops, 27, 30, and 36 dollars; for pine boards, 24, 27, and 30 dollars; for Indian meal  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  dollars; for ship bread the same; and for rice per 100 pounds  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  dollars. Let considerate men determine, whether the British colonial agriculture must not be depressed, and that of the French be exceedingly elevated under such circumstances. It is plain that the latter will find it easy to extend their plantations into grounds now uncultivated, if the British planters should be able to endure their disadvantages. In conformity with this reasoning, we find that the produce of French St. Domingo, shipped to Europe, which, before the late war, is stated by Lord Sheffield to have employed no more than 450 ships, was sufficient, in the year 1788, to load for France 580 ships, of  $370\frac{1}{2}$  tons on a medium, and 110 of 470 tons, (exclusive of the numerous French and foreign vessels employed in the trade with North and South America,) amounting in the whole to 296,435 tons, nearly equal to one third of the private ships of Britain. The whole of the vessels loaded in 1787, from all the British West India islands to England and Scotland, amounted to but 132,222 tons. In 1788 the quantity was the same, and as the writer of the Observations admits that the produce of America was before the war two thirds in value (though less in bulk) of that of St.



Domingo, the British colonial agriculture must have advanced, if at all, in a much less degree than that of the French. This great increase of the French navigation, resulting from a prosperous West Indian agriculture, *abundantly and cheaply supplied*, is a verification of the prediction of Lord Sheffield; which was mentioned above, and induces the most reasonable doubts, whether it would be really impolitic in Great Britain to admit American vessels into her West India Islands. As it is of great importance to this argument, to establish the actual increase of the French produce upon stronger ground than even the highest probability, it may be useful to state, that the sugars exported from St. Domingo, in 1786, were near 133 millions of pounds; in 1788, near 163 millions and an half; that the coffee in 1786 was about 51 millions of pounds; and, on the average of 1787 and 1788, near 70 millions; and that the cotton, in 1786, was 5,200,000 pounds—and, on the average of 1787 and 1788, above 6,500,000 pounds—and that the melasses, which in 1786 was 21,855 hhds. was increased, in 1788, to 29,503.

The augmentation of the French vessels, employed from St. Domingo alone, appears to be equal to 108,000 tons. If the whole of their sugar colonies have prospered in the same degree, it is probable their acquisition of shipping may be safely estimated at 162,000 tons, which is 47,000 tons more than Lord Sheffield supposes to have been employed, before the American revolution, between the British sugar islands and *all* the American provinces, and is very far beyond the tonnage employed at this time in the trade of those islands with the United States. The British publications represent it to be less than 21,000 tons, making three voyages per annum, the aggregate entries of which they consider as about 62,000 tons.

It is alleged, that American vessels cannot be admitted without offence to other countries: but that has not been found an objection to the admission by the French. Nor, if the regulation were properly made, would the allies of England have any cause of complaint; for they might participate in the trade, if they could find advan-



tage in so doing, which however would not be the case. The ships of Russia, of Holland, of Great Britain, of Spain, of Portugal, of the United States, and of all other foreign countries, may enter the French Islands with the same kinds of goods, even American articles. The English, indeed, would be much more protected in the island trade than the French; because by other clauses in their laws, the goods brought by each flag must be its own national productions.

It may be argued that the Americans would take a large proportion of the carriage to the British islands: but this, if true, is the strongest proof that can be adduced, of the expediency of the measure, as calculated to promote the colonial agriculture, and thus aid and support the navy of Great Britain. France, it is seen, by the mode proposed, has added much more to her shipping, in the trade of a single island, than England enjoys in the monopoly of the intercourse with all her islands, by the mode she pursues. The British shipping, too, if ours were admitted, would certainly maintain themselves in a considerable portion of the trade: and in proof of this, it may be observed, that the French employ of their own vessels in their West India trade from this country, near two thirds of the tonnage, that is engaged in their commerce between these states and the kingdom of France. It is material to observe, that in the intercourse between the French islands and the United States, the tonnage of the British, Dutch, Spanish, Danes, Swedes, and Portuguese, does not amount to two per cent. upon the whole of the vessels employed.

*That it would be better for Britain to give up the islands than their carrying trade.*

As the arguments adduced by Lord Sheffield, relate only to the carrying trade between the United States and the British West India islands, the observations will proceed on the same ground. The whole freight between the two countries prior to the war, he estimates at £.245,000, rather than lose which, he thinks it better

to give up those valuable islands, the produce whereof, according to various estimations, is worth three or four millions sterling, and whose inhabitants are very free consumers of British manufactures. A prudent administration should beware of a writer, who deceives himself by too ardently maintaining a favourite hypothesis. But a relinquishment of the trade, on the part of Great Britain, is not desired ; nor can a loss of it be supposed to follow the admission of our vessels to a participation in it. The ships always employed in the circuitous voyage would still continue to pursue it ; those belonging to the West Indians themselves, the Bahamans, the Bermudians, and the northern British colonies, would still enjoy a large proportion : the remainder would be done by the Americans, who now suffer the British nation to employ a large quantity of tonnage in imports from, and exports to foreign countries, other than British, without any reciprocation.

*That the shipping Great Britain gains, by excluding the Americans, will be at hand.*

Lord Sheffield undertakes to say, that the navigation of those provinces, which are now the United States, operated as a drain of British seamen ; and conveys an idea, that the sailors employed here, were of no use to Britain. The prompt manning of their ships on this station, the cheap and certain supply of their West Indies, in the war of 1755 to 1762, the distress to the French and Spanish trade by American privateers, the affair of cape Breton, the great exportation of prize goods from this country, and other weighty facts, might be adduced to prove this not the smallest of his errors. Assuming that we were too remote to be of any use in time of war, he proceeds to a conclusion, that the navigation employed in the supply of the islands, will be hereafter nearer home, inferring that it will belong to the merchants of their European dominions. This may be in a great degree the case, as to the sugar

ships, which make the circuitous voyage from Europe to the United States, the West Indies and Europe; and it was equally so, as to that description of traders, before the revolution: but the direct intercourse between these states and the British West India islands, from which we are excluded, must, from the nature of the trade, be carried on principally in vessels owned in those islands, whose situation is more remote than ours, and by British subjects, residing in our ports, Bermudians, and the people of the northern British colonies, all of whom are as distant as we.

*That America could never be united again,*

Was a settled opinion of the writer of the Observations. He did not perceive that accident, principally, had cast us into the form of Thirteen States. It is true, that the extreme injuries of disunion were not generally foreseen by many of our own citizens. The utility, the necessity, of strengthening the national government, had not come home, as it has since done, to the minds of the American people. Many of their friends, however, saw with regret, and some of those who were not their friends, perceived with a satisfaction not the most honourable, that the prospects of individual happiness, and of national prosperity, had ceased to be fair. The most miserable ill, that can afflict the political body, *the want of a fit organization*, had brought on alarming convulsions; and there were no evils which were not to be apprehended, unless a change of system could be effected. In this moment, the friends of order came forth. The jarring interests, on the effects of which the writer relies, were made to harmonize. The difference of "manners, of climates, and of staples," did not intervene, according to his expectations, as insurmountable obstacles to amity and union. That hearty co-operation, the hope of which is treated as preposterous, has actually taken place: and the American people now universally perceive, "that whatever measures have a tendency to

dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to their liberty and independency."

It remains, then, for those who have believed in these predictions of ruinous contentions among the people, and an enfeebling discord in the councils of the United States, to consider, in so different a course of things, the conduct which ought to be observed: and for us it remains steadily to proceed in the good work of *restoring* and *firmly securing* publick order, as the certain and only means of private and publick happiness.







## FOURTH NUMBER.

### THE article, which next presents itself, is that of NAVAL STORES.

It appears to Lord Sheffield, that Russia will interfere much with the American states, in the supply of these commodities. The quantities exported, agreeably to his table for 1771, and our return in 1791, appear to have been,

In 1771. Barrels.		Barrels.	In the return for 13½ mo.
of pitch, 9,144		8,875	
tar, 82,075		85,067	
turpentine, 17,014	worth then	28,326	worth now
refin 223	156,000	316	217,945
Spirits of tur- pentine 41	dollars.	193	dollars.
Total 108,497		122,777	

From this increase of value, it appears, that the United States have not suffered from the competition of Russia, or any other country; but that in this article, like most others, we experience the advantage of being *an open*

*market*, free from the British monopoly, which existed before the revolution. In addition to this large exportation, considerable quantities have been consumed in manufactures which have been introduced or extended since the year 1771: and a very large quantity has been purchased for the repairs and stores of 770,000 tons of vessels, of various nations, employed in the foreign trade, the coasting trade, and the fisheries, and in the building of ships, which greatly exceed the number built on a medium of 1769 to 1771.

### POT AND PEARL ASHES.

THESE articles, Lord Sheffield ventures to affirm, can be made to greater advantage in Canada and Nova Scotia, than elsewhere in America, on account of the plenty of wood, and owing to the great quantity of fuel consumed in a long and severe winter. It is well known, that the people of this continent do not attempt to make these salts out of any of the terebinthine woods\*, (though it is said to be practised in the north of Europe) and that the growth of trees in the remaining British colonies, is principally of those kinds. Abundant proof that they have little oak, is derived from the small quantity of staves, heading, oak timber, and oak planks, which they export, and from the quantities of them, which they import from the United States. But had they the proper kinds of fuel, that would not be sufficient; for a certain degree of population is necessary to this manufacture. The number of people in the whole of the northern British colonies, is perhaps 160,000 or 180,000, while the United States have more than twenty times their number, of whom two-thirds inhabit scenes much more abundant in wood and timber than Canada and Nova Scotia. Their custom house books will show what pot ash those colonies export. Although our writer supposes, that the

\* The barks of hemlock, pine, fir, and larch, are said to be very productive of pot-ash.

United States will yield *less than they have heretofore done*, we find, that the return of the treasury exhibited the great quantity of 8,568 tons, though the export, on the medium of 1768, 1769, and 1770, was only 2008 tons, and 5 cwt.

In treating of pot-ash, Lord Sheffield takes occasion to digress to the article of coal, and observes, that to encourage the British collieries, and carrying trade, they should prevent the getting of coal on the island of Cape Breton. It was among the disadvantages, which, it was alleged, the United States would sustain by the separation from Great Britain, that the collieries of Cape Breton were to be particularly barred against them. This, like many other evils, which were apprehended, has vanished on a recurrence to the resources of the country. The collieries on James River will not only abundantly supply the extensive territory watered by the rivers of the Chesapeake and by that bay itself; but they promise to afford a very valuable nursery for seamen in the transportation of their contents to all the sea-ports of the United States. They already furnish coal on terms much lower than the *minimum* of the first cost and charges of importation: and as labour is declining in price, and a short water-communication, between the mines and the shipping place, is nearly completed, there is no doubt that foreign coal will be rendered a very losing commodity, and that it must finally be excluded from our markets. The interior country is plentifully supplied by nature with this valuable fossil.

### HORSES.

Lord Sheffield treats of this article with great ingenuity. He raises expectations in the government and people of Great Britain, that the West Indies may draw supplies of these useful animals from Canada, and considers Nova Scotia as having greatly the advantage of Canada and the United States in her capacity for the exportation of them. It is stated as certain, that a trade for horses will be carried on by that province. The distance of Great

Britain and Ireland do not appear to restrain his sanguine hopes, that horses may be shipt to the West Indies from those two countries. He proceeds further, and suggests the supply of the probable deficiency of horses, with mules from Barbary, from whence they are to be obtained in abundance (though at a high price), and from Porto Rico and the Mississippi. In short, knowing the importance of horses to the West India planters, he takes great pains to shew, that they may relinquish, without inconvenience, the cheap and certain supplies which they formerly enjoyed, and which the French, Danes, and Dutch now enjoy by means of deep-waisted American vessels, manned by persons accustomed to the business.

There is, perhaps, no article, in proportion to the value, in which the British islands suffer more deeply by the present footing of their intercourse with these States, than in that of which we are now treating. This country is particularly fitted for the raising of horses, and affords them in very increased numbers. The exportation of them in the year 1770, which was entirely to the West India Islands, was, by Lord Sheffield's tables, 6,692; and the exportation of them by the treasury return already referred to, was 8,628, besides 237 mules. The last article has been added to the list of exports, since the year 1770, and promises to become very considerable, though mules have not a place in Lord Sheffield's book among the supplies which may be derived from the United States. The British West India Islands are stated to have taken off, before the revolution, two-fifths of the above number, or, 2,676 horses; but it appears by the late return, that there were shipt thither, in thirteen months and a half, no more than nine hundred and sixteen horses and mules; from which it is manifest, that the present mode of carrying on the trade deprives them of above two-thirds of their former supply of these animals, which are admitted in the Observations, to be "*essentially necessary*." The price of those they do obtain, must of course be much enhanced by an unsatisfied demand three fold greater than the importation, and by the



expense of conveying them in British ships, which, being very generally in the double-decked form, are dangerous for the transportation of horses on deck, and carry them at an immense freight in the hold. Here is another very injurious instance, of depressing the West India agriculture. The case with the Dutch is very different. Their sugar colonies, though much less populous than those of Great Britain, received in the above term, about seven hundred and sixty horses and mules. The French, as in regard to the other articles of necessary supplies, not produced by their own dominions, receive these animals, without impediment, in our vessels, and their own, indiscriminately. The precise number, which was shipped to their islands, before the revolution, is not ascertained: but, as Lord Sheffield alleges that the whole number exported to the foreign sugar colonies was, in 1770, about 4,015, some part of which the Dutch and Danes received; and as it appears by the late return, that about 7,000 horses and mules were shipped to the French sugar plantations, during its term, it is manifest, that they have increased their importations 80, 90, or 100 per cent. It is unnecessary to reiterate here, that they will receive proportionate advantages in their colonial agriculture, (and to the ships employed in transporting its produce) from so capital an addition to one of their most useful supplies.

*That "France will not suffer America to supply her with ships,"*

IS contradicted by the fact.\* That kingdom by rejecting American vessels, would have so far sacrificed her carrying trade to the manufacture of ships. She wisely

\* Immediately after the first publication of this paper, the French regulation, confining their flag to native ships, was received in America. What will be found under this head, which was written before the regulation was known, may serve as a sincere comment on this new restriction.

purchases, upon the cheapest terms, *the cradles* for her marine nursery. The first and great object of the maritime powers, ought to be *the increase of the number of their sailors*, which is best done by multiplying their chances of employment. Among the means of doing this, one of the most obvious and rational is, *the multiplication of vessels*. The French-built ships cost from 55 to 60 dollars per ton, when fitted to receive a cargo, and exclusively of sea stores, insurance, the charges of lading, outward pilotage, and other expenses incidental to the employment, and not to the building and outfit of a vessel. The American live oak and cedar ships, to which none are superior, cost in the same situation, from 33 to 35 dollars, finished very completely. If the French require 10,000 tons of new vessels, on any occasion, or in any term of time, they may be procured in the United States, on a computation of the medium price of 34 dollars per ton, for the sum of 340,000 dollars; but, if bought at 55 dollars, the lowest price in France, they would cost the much greater sum of 550,000 dollars. No argument is necessary to show, that such a nation, *cæteris paribus*, must produce seamen more rapidly, than those who refuse these cheap vessels.

It would appear much less unreasonable, that the government of the United States should prohibit the sale of ships, (*the means of obtaining naval strength*) to foreign nations, than that any of them should reject the great advantage of so cheap and excellent a supply. And should the French, British, and other foreign nations continue to decline the purchase of American-built ships, there can be no doubt, that we shall take a greater portion of *the carrying trade* for ourselves and other countries, from that cause.

*That the Navigation Act gave, and that an adherence to it will secure, to Great Britain the commerce of the world.*

THERE is no doubt, that Great Britain has hereto-

fore obtained, in proportion to the number of its people, a very great share of trade both foreign and internal. But the value of her imports in 1774, was not ten per cent. more than that of the imports of France. Holland\* had, at the same time, a very great trade; as had several other countries in Europe. It would have been beyond the truth, if Lord Sheffield had said that Britain had a fifth "of the commerce of the world." It may appear, at first view, of little use, and even injudicious, to notice this remark: *but it is really of importance to a reasonable and accurate estimation of things, to correct such extravagancies.* These hyperbolical expressions tend to mislead. They occasion a people erroneously to suppose, they have the world at their command, and render the most salutary and reasonable arrangements more difficult than they ought to be. They also help to swell the popular torrent against a clear sighted, honest, and candid minister, who may attempt measures, fit in themselves, and even necessary to the national interests.

But whatever may have been the truth of the assertion, that Great Britain *heretofore* engrossed the commerce of the world, a different course of things has taken place, and is to be expected hereafter, with regard to her and every other country. It is manifest, that a prodigious, and almost universal revolution in the views of nations, with regard to the carrying trade, has taken place. The extension of the spirit of commerce and the consequent inclination and capacity for naval power, have occasioned this change. The jealousy of trade, which gave birth to the British navigation act, is now felt as well by the sovereigns, as by the citizens, of every country in Europe. They have become sensible, that commerce is at once a great source of private wealth and of national power. The general prevalence of these views is daily producing commercial regulations, (injurious of-

\* Mr. Eden stated, since the American war, that the exports and imports of Holland, in foreign goods only, were 12,000,000. sterling.

ten to the country making them) intended to secure to the citizens of each nation those benefits, which were formerly enjoyed by the carrying and manufacturing states. Those, who have heretofore enjoyed the trade of other countries, and in a very extensive degree, must necessarily be the first to feel the inconveniences of this change of measures: and they must eventually experience them in proportion to their former advantages. The private shipping of the Hanse towns and of the United Netherlands, have already felt the consequences of these views. Those traders, indeed, might once have almost claimed the commerce of the world. There is considerable danger, however, that this anxious desire of trade may occasion some of the maritime nations to give too free and strong operation to principles, which are not exceptionable in the present state of things, if properly directed and restrained; for it is manifest, that countries with a great agricultural interest, will err exceedingly in pursuing, as far as possible, measures, which may not be found inconvenient to nations oppositely circumstanced.

With respect to Great Britain, the object of her navigation act was to expel the Dutch from her carrying trade, and thus to decrease the ability of her rivals to maintain and suddenly to increase their navy. Situated as things then were, the British were probably right, as to the object in view: and from the insensibility of Europe to the nature and operation of the English marine code, they gained incidentally, and for a long time, immense advantages in the commerce of other states, for which they originally did not look. This situation of things is now thoroughly understood. The shipping of Britain in consequence will hereafter find rivals in the private vessels of several foreign countries, and there appears the utmost improbability, that she can continue to retain any extraordinary share of the carrying trade for other nations. The tenure of it is manifestly in the greatest degree precarious; because it absolutely depends on the laws of other countries, and on the continuance of inattention in their commercial citizens.

The value of the carrying trade, it may also be ob-



served, is very materially altered. Instead of being, as formerly, a profitable monopoly (if we may so speak) in the hands of two nations, it is now diffused among ten or twelve. The great advantages, too, which accrued to Britain from cheap provisions—superior and cheap ships—and low wages to seamen, are now lost. Bread and meat, from the increase of manufacturers, are imported into that island—wages have considerably advanced, if we take into calculation the great fishing bounties—the expences of ship building have increased—the French\* are admitted to have obtained the pre-eminence in naval architecture, and it appears, from a minute return, exhibited in Anderson's commerce, that the oak timber of Great Britain, in forty years preceeding 1771, had decreased nine tenths; and that it had advanced in price above 40 per cent. in the course of the nineteen antecedent years. It will not be forgotten that the expenditure of twenty years, including a naval war, in which an unparalleled number of ships was built, has since occurred further to exhaust their stock of ship timber. Nor should it be overlooked, that vast demands were made for this article to replace the private shipping which were lost to the British nation by the American revolution. The consumption of ship timber from 1774 to 1785, appears, from the papers of the British society for naval architecture, to have been three times as great as in any equal term before.

The sudden command of seamen by means of *impressment* is too strong an operation of the executive power, too great an outrage against the rights of men, and the sacred peace of families, long to be endured in the present course of European affairs. Those prompt exertions of naval strength, by which Great Britain has heretofore gained advantages, will be affected by an alteration in this particular, at least so far as regards unprofitable, unjust, and ambitious wars, into which all nations are occasionally led.

\* See papers of the British society for naval architecture.

These remarks, it is presumed, will not be misconstrued, as of an invidious nature. *It is a season requiring a true state of things.* They are intended as dispassionate and reasonable answers to the extravagant assertions and the contemptuous menaces of the writer of the Observations, whose doctrines are as pernicious to Great Britain, as they are injurious to the United States. "*Should a quarrel take place between the American States and Great Britain, 'Some stout frigates,'*" he affirms, "*would completely command the commerce of this mighty continent.*"

It would not be improper to ask, what argument is this very intelligent writer possessed of, to prove that so great a *permanent* disparity will exist in favour of a nation, whose *exports* are now to their *expences*, as 18 to 16, over a nation whose exports to their expences are as 18 to 3? Why, can he inform us, should the British exports or imports, neither of which will load 650,000 tons of vessels, afford a *certain permanent basis* for a powerful navy, if those of the United States, which will lade 650,000 tons of vessels, and are steadily increasing, do not justify, under proper management, expectations equal to a few stout frigates? Such miscalculations, on the part of any foreign nation, must lead to corresponding improprieties in their deportment towards us, or they must be candidly rejected.

*That it must always be the situation of the United States to court Great Britain.*

To evince the fallacy of this position, nothing more is necessary than to recollect some leading circumstances in the trade of the two countries. Great Britain exports about £. 18,000,000 sterling, per ann. of which £. 13,000,000 sterling are her own manufactures. It will not be pretended, that we, as the principal customers, are to court the venders of *these goods*. A portion of the remaining £. 5,000,000 is made up of our tobaccoes, rice, indigoes, ginseng, and other productions, exported from their dominions in an unmanufactured state. Of these, it will not be supposed we can be anxious to make *importations*,

The greater part of the remainder is made up of India, Russian, German, and other articles, of foreign growth or manufacture, which Britain cannot furnish but at second hand; for which, consequently, we are not under the necessity to court her, and which neither we nor any other nation could receive from her European dominions, were we to pursue her navigation principles. The re-shipt commodities of Ireland, too, form no inconsiderable item in the list of British exports. For these we could be under no obligation to Great Britain, being manufactured goods, on the shipment of most of which to these states and all the world, the Irish have long granted a very encouraging bounty. In regard to our exports to Great Britain, *they consist principally of the essential elements of her manufactures, shipping, and navy.* These are not only (in the language of Lord Sheffield, when speaking of the Russian exports) more precious to her than gold, but are absolute necessities. Lumber of all kinds, bark, cotton, flax, iron, flaxseed, wax, indigo, pot ash, tar, pitch, turpentine, skins, and furs, are among the articles here contemplated. To these may be added, wheat, flour, and Indian corn, taken in small quantities, except when necessity compels large importations; also tobacco and rice, which are consumed in a small proportion in Britain, but contribute to swell her exports, and increase her carrying trade to other countries. 'Tis manifest, that all these exports are much to be desired on her part, and that it would be most profitable to the United States, *to manufacture the raw materials, and to expend the provisions on their own manufacturers;* and to furnish the rice and tobacco, *by the direct voyage,* to those nations which are supplied circuitously through British ports. In another point of view, the intercourse with Great Britain is not particularly to be courted by the United States. It has been already observed, that we imported of their manufactures, in 1784, £. 3,648,007 sterling, and in 1785 £. 2,308,013, which appear on a medium of those two years, to have been equal to above one third of *the manufactures* they exported, *to all other foreign nations!* How immensely beneficial, how indispensibly necessary to the Bri-

tish manufacturers, are such consumers? Let it be asked, and candidly answered, if they or we are to court such business? If any inviting measures are to be adopted by this country, it would be more wise to court the capitalists, manufacturers, and artizans, of the several kingdoms of Europe, which are overcharged with private wealth and population. It may be urged, that we are strongly induced to court Great Britain for credit. The answer is, that she cannot venture to withhold her fabrics, whatever may be our time of payment; for in the present state of things, a year's absence of British fabrics from our markets, would give an immense spring to our own manufactures. But there is a strong symptom of the ability of the United States to do without a very extensive credit, from any particular nation, in the abundant supplies of China and East India goods, which are imported from every part of those countries with which we trade, amounting probably, to more than a fifth of our consumption of foreign commodities. This independency on any particular nation, which is in the highest degree to be desired, will be sensibly promoted by the establishment of our good name in other foreign countries, by strengthening our new and wholesome guards around the rights of property, and by the recent multiplication and extension of banks. Though no such pecuniary institution existed ten years ago, six banks are established now in five different cities; and their capitals exceed at this time a moiety of our importations. The accommodations and facilities which will result from them, must exceedingly promote the independency of the American merchant and consumer, on foreign credits.

*That "it will not be the interest of any of the great maritime powers, to protect the American vessels from the Barbary states."*

THE lust of power has seldom given rise to a less reputable sentiment in the bosom of an individual than that which we are now to notice. Like the instruction of the flagitious father to his son, to get money, it is ad-



vised, that *naval strength* should be secured, *per fas et nefas*. But it is not asserted, that any nation maintains this doctrine. It has been urged in answer against us, that we import slaves, which has in a very great degree ceased; for the vessels from Africa, in the whole returned year, were less than four hundred tons. But let the circumstances of the case be examined and candidly considered. When high duties on the importation of slaves were imposed before the revolution, by some of the Colonial Assemblies, they were rendered of no effect by *the negative of the crown*, upon the same principles, that now determine the conduct of many of the European shipholders and manufacturers—*because the abolition of the Slave Trade would curtail their respective profits*. During and since the war, most of the states have prohibited those importations: several have abolished slavery: and we find as above hinted, that no more than 385 tons of shipping arrived from Africa in twelve months subsequent to August 1789, in all the states, belonging to us, and all other nations. Whether these had on board any slaves, is not known, *Great Britain* cannot press a country, thus conducting itself, on the subject of the Slave Trade, seeing that her colonies continue to import tens of thousands per annum.

But it is conceived that the reverse of Lord Sheffield's position is true, and that it is the interest of most of the great maritime powers, to pursue measures, which might tend to free the Americans from the piracies of the Barbary States. It may be among the means of transferring to those nations, from *Great Britain*, "*a part of the sovereignty of the ocean*" and "*a part of the commerce of the world, which, it is alleged, her naval power has secured to her.*" The balance of power, if it be accurately defined, must be stated to comprehend now the balance of *naval* power. To attain and preserve that, the first step is manifestly to divest any nation, which may possess it, of "*the sovereignty of the ocean.*" That sovereignty can comport with the true interests and dignity of no other kingdom. It will be more advantageous to the several nations, who are not actually the first in the scale of naval power, that the *United States* should acquire a portion of

the marine force of a nation, too potent by sea, than that such nation, if it really has been the case, should continue to give law upon the ocean: and it is manifest, that no one of those nations can be satisfied, that any other should prescribe the law there. The destruction of no particular kingdom is alleged to be requisite to the well being of this, or any other country: but it certainly is not necessary, that the other nations of the world should promote, or acquiesce in measures, calculated to support any one kingdom in a naval dictatorship. This degree of marine strength is not requisite for the self-defence of any nation; that it may evidently be perverted to interrupt the commerce and to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. Whether this has been the case, (concerning which no assertion is here made) it remains for the parties concerned severally to determine. If it has been, if it may be, and if it probably will be, then it also remains for them to decide, whether it be their true interest to join in the *honourable* league with the Barbarians against the honest commerce, and the personal liberties, of the citizens of the United States.

*That "the British islands would be crowded with Dutch, French, and other foreign vessels, if they were to be laid open."*

A direct contradiction cannot be given to this assertion: but probabilities are strongly against it. The free ports of the French islands are thus laid open; yet the whole tonnage, which usually passes between them and the United States, in the course of a year, exclusively of their own ships, those of the United States, and those of Great Britain, do not exceed two per cent. of the whole tonnage employed in the trade; and though the British vessels have an equal opportunity with the ships of France and of these states, yet they carried but eight small cargoes to all the French islands, during the returned year. From the nature of the West India trade, and of the commodities transported, it cannot be supported, unless the vessels be owned by the inhabitants of the islands,

of those of this country. Similar facts occur, in examining the trade with the Dutch ports in the West Indies, and on the main; and the same observations, it is conceived, would justly apply to them. But what are those foreign vessels to carry to the English islands? By the other British regulations, they could transport no *American* articles, and they cannot ship from their own dominions, with a chance of profit, any of the commodities which are permitted to be imported from foreign countries, into the British West Indies,







## FIFTH NUMBER.

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**T**HE next errors in the Observations of Lord Sheffield, on which it is necessary to animadvert, are some which are not inconsiderable, with respect to the actual and probable

### POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

HE is of opinion that our population is not likely to increase as it has done on our coasts ; that we had fallen off in numbers in 1784 ; and that the emigration from the United States would be very considerable. The state of Rhode Island was proved by actual enumeration, in 1783, to contain 51,896 persons. The unhappy condition of that government, and the consequent interruption of its trade, fisheries, and manufactures, from 1786 to the beginning of 1790, occasioned great emigrations from thence into the other states. Yet the census, which was completed before the first day of May, in the present year, amounts to 68,825. Delaware, which, like Rhode Island, has no back country, and lies upon the coast, was estimated at 35,000 persons, in a return, which Lord Sheffield affirmed in 1783, to be too high. Its popula-

tion is proved, by the actual enumeration just completed, to be 59,094. Connecticut, another state upon the coast, was computed in the same return, which he mentions, in 1784, to contain 206,000 persons. It is well known, that its population, in proportion to its territory, was then, and is now, the greatest in the union, and that it has been incessantly sending emigrants to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the western territory: yet its census shows it to contain, at this time, 237,942 inhabitants. New-Jersey, another state without new or unsettled lands, is rated in the return, which Lord Sheffield questions, at 150,000, and was proved by the enumeration, which was taken at the moment he hazarded this doubt, to contain 149,435 persons. The census shows its present population to be 184,139. New York was stated at 200,000, and now appears to be 340,120. Pennsylvania, which was said to be estimated too high, in 1784, at 320,000, amounts to 434,373. Massachusetts, including the district of Maine, is set down in the disputed estimation, at 350,000, in 1784: the census in 1790, proves to be 475,327. New Hampshire, which is found to contain 141,885, was considered as having no more than 82,200. Maryland, which was estimated at 220,000, and which has not one county that does not lie on a navigable river flowing into the Atlantic ocean, appears by the census to have 319,728. Virginia, *inclusively* of Kentucky, was stated in the old return to have 400,000, and is found to contain 747,610, after the separation of Kentucky, whose population is 73,677: and here it is to be remarked, that the state of Massachusetts, though thickly settled, has manifestly gained people in the last nine years, more rapidly than Kentucky, supposing the latter to have had 10,000 inhabitants or upwards, in 1782; and the part of Virginia, not including Kentucky, has gained inhabitants much more rapidly than that western district. These two facts are mentioned to prove the error of Lord Sheffield's prediction, that our population was not likely to increase, as it has done, "on the sea coast." North Carolina, which was stated at only

200,000, is proved to contain 393,751, exclusively of the western country ceded to Congress by that state in the last year, the population of which is found to be about 35,000 more. The population of Vermont is above 85,000 : that of South Carolina, and the governments in the western territory, is not yet ascertained.

The whole return above referred to, is alleged, by our author, to be too high. Its total is 2,389,300, and it was made the basis of congressional assessments. The best accounts, as Lord Sheffield affirms, made the number of whites 1,700,000. There seems, however, from the returns already received, to be no doubt, that our numbers will prove more than 3,900,000, by the census taken from August 1790, to April 1791, inclusive. The population of the United States has therefore advanced 65 *per centum* on a return in 1782, which Lord Sheffield affirmed, in 1784, to be *exaggerated*.

The simplicity of living amongst *the great body* of the American people—the facility of obtaining the means of subsistence—migration to our country—and the non-existence of emigrations from it, though Nova Scotia is so near, and, as Lord Sheffield says, so tempting—these circumstances have occasioned the United States thus rapidly to increase in population, in the last nine years, seven of which were extremely disordered and discouraging. But now, when agriculture is improved, when laws, religion, morals, liberal and useful science, arts, manufactures, and commerce, are maintained, promoted, and extended ; Lord Sheffield himself will believe, that our population will increase even on the sea coast. Let foreigners, who sincerely desire information, take up the Philadelphia directory, published by the marshal of the United States for the district of Pennsylvania, and learn by this simple but authentic document, the ingredients of which our towns are composed, even in a state whose territory is not one fourth settled. It will there be seen, that while our planters' and farmers' sons are subdividing their lands, or moving forward into less populated scenes, many of the sons of our artificers and manufacturers, and many persons of those occupations, from so-

reign countries, are taking their stations on the vacant lots in our old streets, or commencing new ones. The sober and industrious journeymen of Europe, who can scarcely support the expences of living there, often become successful master workmen here. It may be safely affirmed, that the Scotch combine the advantages of sobriety, industry, frugality, and skill, in as great a degree as any manufacturers in Europe ; yet they incessantly emigrate to us, and are remarkably successful in their various branches.

### EMIGRATION.

GREAT pains are taken by the writer of the Observations, to place the emigrants to America in the most discouraging circumstances of distress and contempt. "Emigration," says he, "is the natural resource of the culprit." Those, who are acquainted with the history of Europe, since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and of the colonies settled from thence, know, that the emigrants hither have been, generally speaking, *the enterprising*, and their followers, or *the oppressed subjects of unjust civil or religious rulers*—the latter in the greatest degree. There is not a state in the union which does not contain one or more sects, which have fled from religious persecution. Nothing can be more rational, than that persons of *sincere piety and tender consciences*, should seek a country, in which the assertion of *mere toleration* is deemed as absurd, as the denial of *religious liberty* is thought to be criminal. Hence congregationalists, quakers, baptists, and others, have fled hither from England ; seceders and episcopalians from Scotland ; catholics from Ireland ; hugonots from France ; protestants from the dominions of the catholic princes of Germany ; and catholics from those of the protestant princes. Two centuries have not elapsed, since all the dominions of the United States were an howling wilderness. They now contain near four millions of people. From whence have they been derived ? In great numbers from Europe, by incessant streams of emigration. But it may be asked, are these people happy and prosperous ? Does the soil they cultivate,



yield them any return for their labour? They procure for themselves comfortable habitations, food, raiment, and other conveniencies, and have exported in a single year, above twenty millions of dollars in value! How then can these people have been "miserably disappointed in their expectations of prosperity here?"

But Lord Sheffield assures all emigrants, that they will be distressed, nay, ruined, by taxes; and that our public burdens are heavier than those of any country in Europe. It appears, however, that we are now in the middle of the third year of our general government, and notwithstanding all our late arrearages, and the funding of our debts, neither a tax on lands, nor any species of direct tax, is contemplated. No excise upon any article of consumption or use is laid or proposed, except a very small one on spirituous liquors, compared with those in Europe. Besides this, the impost or duty on foreign goods imported, is the sole revenue that is raised upon the people, and it is, on a medium, less in *currency*, than the same articles pay in *sterling*, in all the principal countries of Europe. Where, then, are these insupportable burdens with which this writer attempts to alarm European emigrants?

Under the head of emigration, Lord Sheffield has laid himself open to a more severe measure of just remark, than it is agreeable to deal out to him. It ought not, however, to be unnoticed, that he gravely brings forward a story, on the pretended authority of a letter from Philadelphia, of "two fine Irish youths being purchased by a negro fruit-seller, in that city, and employed in hawking fruit about the streets, and in the meanest employments." How dangerous must be the situation of a government, which has acted upon the information and reasonings brought forward by a mind capable of using such means to carry his points, admitting the letter were genuine! How unlike a dignified statesman does Lord Sheffield appear, in exclaiming, after this contemptible story, "*Irishmen just emancipated in Europe, go to America to become slaves to a negro!*" and what will be thought when it is known, that in the legislature of the very state (Pennsylvania) in whose

capital he alleges the fact took place, there were, about the time of his publication, no less than twenty-eight Irishmen and sons of Irishmen, though the whole body consisted of but sixty-nine members? We are willing that the fortunes of the Irish in this country should determine the expediency of their continuing to emigrate hither. As some pains have been taken by him to excite the apprehensions of the Germans also, it may not be improper to observe, that there have generally been from fifteen to eighteen members of the same legislative body, who were natives of Germany or their sons.

*Kentucky and the western territory.*

IT was boldly asserted by Lord Sheffield, in 1784, that the people of the interior country of America, were "mere nominal subjects," and would speedily imitate and multiply the examples of independence. The regular organization of the government of the territory north-west of the Ohio since that time; the arrangements made shortly after, for the erection of Kentucky into a separate state, with the consent of congress and Virginia; the cession of the extensive country south of the Ohio to Congress in 1790, and its temporary establishment as a kind of fief of the general government (with civil officers appointed by the president) to be admitted into the union as an entire new member, when its population should be sufficiently numerous; the adoption of the federal constitution by a deliberate act of a special convention of Vermont; and the formal admissions of that state and Kentucky into the American union, at their own desire, and by an act of the legislature of the United States; have, as far as possible, contradicted the prophecy.

Another opinion, in regard to those distant scenes, is, that they can derive no benefit from the American states. At this moment, the arm of government is extended, and its funds are appropriated, to protect them against the hostilities of the Indians: and the whole regular military force, which it has been thought necessary to support, was raised, and is now employed in their defence. The

Atlantick Rivers, from the Mississippi to the Mohawk, which nature has formed as the channels of their trade, can be cleared of natural and political obstructions only by the measures of the Atlantick States; and no less than eight several plans to that end are now in preparation or execution in as many different places, under the auspices of the five States, within whose territories the most favourable rivers and grounds have been placed by nature. Congress alone can effect the relinquishment of the posts, *the keys of the western country*. The improvement and opening of the many necessary roads, leading westward, must be done by the acts of the Atlantick States, and by their funds. Not a year elapses without several appropriations of money to this object. *By a sincere and close union between the inhabitants of the western country and those upon the coasts, both parties will avoid those expensive, bloody, and frequent struggles, which every where disgrace and injure adjacent States.*

*That no American articles are so necessary to Great Britain, as the British manufactures, &c. are to the Americans.*

Lord Sheffield has already admitted, that raw materials are more precious to Britain than gold: but this was not conceded to America. Those things, which are inestimable when they are to be drawn from countries other than the United States, lose all their value in his estimation, when to be derived from us. The British manufacturers well know, that American raw materials (like those of Russia, the Indies and Ireland) are precious, indeed, to them, because, in addition to their natural value, and their indispensable need of them, when once landed in Britain, they cannot be manufactured in America. Timber, plank, boards, masts, tar, pitch, turpentine, and pig iron for the support of their navy and shipping—indigo, potash, furs, skins, flaxseed, iron, tobacco, staves, fine oil, &c. for the employment of their manufacturers—rice, wheat, and flour for their subsistence—and a large catalogue of the most necessary

supplies for the West India Islands, which really cannot be obtained elsewhere, without an insupportable addition to their cost, will not be deemed at this time, by a rational and well informed man, of less importance to Great Britain, than the manufactures of that country, which they are assiduously endeavouring to disperse through every quarter of the world, are to us.

But it is not intended to waste arguments on this allegation. Every man of information, in the affairs of the two countries, is able to decide on it at first view. Little more appears necessary than to remind the parties concerned, that such an assertion is among the positions, which Lord Sheffield has hazarded, in order that the misleading tendency of his book may be duly borne in mind by the sincere friends of mutually beneficial arrangements. It may not, however, be amiss to observe that although the favourable ideas that have been suggested by way of answer, were justified by facts and reason, when that work was published, yet the American ground is not a little meliorated by the subsequent progress and present state of our manufactures—by the experienced inability of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, to furnish the promised supplies—by the consequent importations from the United States of timber and lumber into Great Britain, and of more than the former supplies into the West Indies—and by the necessary dependence of Europe on the United States for the precious articles of grain and flour, which has been recently ascertained and admitted by unquestionable English authorities.

*The quality of American distilled spirits.*

It is not surprising, that remarks on the bad quality of American spirituous liquors should run through “the Observations.” But the business of distilling is so simple, that great improvements might have been expected since 1783. Geneva, in imitation of that of Holland, is now made in some of our sea ports: the rectifying of the ordinary rums is practised by a few with great



success. Peach brandy is made in considerable quantities, and, when matured, is the most exquisite in spirit the world. Should our rice decline in price, it is not doubted, that the manufacture of arrack will be attempted. The ingredients from which this spirit is made, have till lately been unascertained in the United States: but it is now believed, that rice, and coarse sugar, or melasses, are really the articles. When the success of the Americans in the manufacture of malt liquors is remembered, it will not be doubted, that they will have equal success in that of distilled spirits. A principal impediment has hitherto been the free and copious influx of rival foreign liquors, and the general reception of flour, &c. in foreign ports. Every obstruction to our vessels and sales abroad, imposed by the European nations, impels to breweries, distilleries, and manufactures in general, amongst other modes of creating a demand for our grain, and employment for our capital.

*" If the American States should attempt to pay their debts, the lands of the farmers must for some time lie under very heavy impositions."*

This is among the many proofs, which our writer has given, that he did not possess the gift of prophecy. The American debt has been considerably reduced by the sale of state and federal lands, and a provision is made for funding it. A sinking fund has also been provided. Yet no tax upon lands has been introduced among the ways and means. The whole American debt would not require a tax upon each individual, of four pounds sterling, *to extinguish it forever*. That of Great Britain would require a tax of more than twenty-four pounds ten shillings sterling. Our population is rapidly increasing, while theirs is comparatively stationary. There is a like disproportion in our favour in the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of government and defence. The French debt is 250 per cent. heavier than ours, in proportion to numbers. *This brief, but very important article will not fail to receive due attention from,*

*those who sincerely desire to make a just estimate of the affairs of the United States; nor will it escape the observations of those foreigners, who may be engaged in researches into our affairs, or in plans of emigration, settlement, and landed purchases in this country. It will also be a source of the most comfortable reflexions to our own citizens. The people of Europe, who have read Lord Sheffield's book, will be surprised to hear that there are no perpetual revenues, no stamp duties, no window or hearth taxes, no tythes, no excises \* upon beer, hops, malt, soap, candles, coal or other fuel, or indeed on any other article in the United States, excepting only about five pence sterling on distilled spirits.*

*"That the Americans could not have traded with the French before the Revolution to half the extent they did, had it not been for the specie they took from the British Islands."*

This remark is applied by the writer to our French West India trade. To judge of the truth of it, a comparison of the present with the former state of that branch of our commerce will be sufficient. It will not be doubted, that during their troubles, and (to take a recent term) for a year preceding the first day of May last, our imports and exports from and to the French West Indies, were greater than in any year before the war. Yet our vessels could not procure specie in the British islands, being prohibited from entering them. Pickled and dried fish, beef, rice, Indian corn, oats, beans, peas, onions, Indian meal, boards, planks, scantling, shingles, handspikes, oars, square timber, staves, heading, hoops, horses, live stock, poultry, boats, and vessels, &c. to an amount greater than the shipments to all the West India islands, other than British, before the war, have been exported to the French islands within the term of one year. The course of things, in several re-

\* I am not sorry there exists an excise on spirituous liquors. If an excise is necessary, it can not fall so properly for the health, morals, industry, and increase of prosperity of a people. I think it equally the glory and happiness of America, that she has no other excise, and that she has this,

spects, will probably lessen our importation of melasses and taffia, (or rum) which we have been accustomed to draw from thence, Besides beer and cyder, distilled spirits are now made from fruit and grain, in such quantities as to constitute more than one third of our consumption and export of strong liquors, other than wines. Plentiful harvests of fruit necessarily increase the manufacture from that ingredient; because it is too perishable to export. Abundant harvests of grain, or low markets abroad, have a similar effect on distillation from that material. The measures of the National Assembly of France, in regard to tobacco, will add to the many objections which before existed against the usual cultivation of it. Barley, rye, and oats, from which the grain-liquors are principally made, as also wheat and Indian corn, will be produced in much larger quantities, should we decline the cultivation of tobacco in any considerable degree. If we continue, after a short time, to import choice rums, brandies, and arrack, to the amount of five per cent. on our whole consumption, and manufacture the remainder, which will require four millions of bushels of barley, rye, and oats, and more, so far as we make beer, we shall want less funds abroad for the purchase of melasses, and we shall confirm the ability we have shown, to carry on a trade with the French islands, greater than formerly, *without specie taken from the British West Indies.*

*“ That the United States lost much by the separation from Great Britain.”*

This is an opinion, which it was very natural for an English writer in 1783 to adopt. It was difficult at that time to compare, with the requisite certainty and precision, the benefits in point of pecuniary advantage, which the United States might have reasonably expected in a colonial, and in an independent situation. It would be more easily and better done at the present, but cannot be attempted at large in this place. Some ideas on the subject, however, may serve to evince the error of the assertion.

It is true, that by the separation of the two countries, the United States incurred a debt of about £.15,000,000 sterling, which, however, was entirely spent in the country, as was a great part of the French and British expenditures. Great Britain increased her public debt, in the same time, 115,000,000l. The whole expense to both sides appears then to be about £.130,000,000 sterling. There is the strongest probability, from the rapidity of the increase of the British debt, which, in less than a century, grew up from *nothing* to £.270,000,000 and which is in the present year swelling to a larger size, that, without the American war, the British nation would have been burdened on this day with at least two hundred millions. Considering the rate in which the objects of taxation or means of revenue have increased in this country, there is reason to believe, that by this time we should have been thought able to endure a proportion of the ways and means requisite to support that debt, equal to our numbers; this would have been above one fourth of the whole, or *fifty millions sterling*, and is three and one third times our present debt. It may be said, we paid no such contribution; and the assertion, by reference to the former publick accounts, would appear on paper to be true: but we were injuriously restrained, in regard to the sources of our supplies, and the vents of our produce and manufactures; we were prohibited from the labour saving modes of manufacturing; and it is too plain the prohibitions would have been continued. The impost went into the British treasury; our lands were subject to quit-rents, which, belonging to the crown, have either fallen to the present government, or have been entirely abolished. The effects of the commercial monopoly were prodigious. It may be strikingly exemplified in the single article of tea. We have already seen, that we imported above three millions of pounds in the year following August 1789. The medium price of fine and coarse teas was above one third of a dollar more favourable to us in 1790, than in 1774; by which



a difference of a million of dollars, and the whole impost on the article, are saved to the country.

The facility of naturalization under our present laws, is very much in favour of the introduction of people, and of arts, manufactures, and capital from foreign countries. Lands may be held in almost every state, and his occupation or trade may be pursued, immediately on the arrival of an emigrant. A term much shorter than that prescribed by the British statute before the revolution, entitles him to all the benefits of citizenship. It is impossible to estimate the value of this circumstance to a country so well calculated to induce emigration, to support an increased population, and to employ capital and artificers, as the United States.

Lord Sheffield observes, that the British establishment in this country gave it an advantage of £.370,000 sterling per annum. He should not have omitted to mention, that great part of this sum was expended on the Floridas, Canada, and Nova Scotia: and it is to be observed, that many of the articles were imported, and not of our production or manufacture. The mere consumption of British and Irish goods by the British and Irish officers, soldiers, and sailors, stationed or employed here, could not benefit the people of America. It is past a doubt, that the sales of the lands alone, which have fallen to the States and to the general government, have yielded annually a larger sum by the purchases of citizens and foreigners. The customs and quit-rents must also have been a full reimbursement. But it is unnecessary to dwell longer on this article; for whatever may have been the former opinions of many in the two countries concerning it, the subject is at this time so illumined, and prejudice and misconception are so completely done away, that no persons of judgment and information now believe, "*the United States have lost by the separation from Great Britain.*" It is, however, true that the American States were in a train of prosperity before the revolution, which promised greater wealth and happiness than appeared to await the people of any other country. Lord

Sheffield might reasonably estimate their prospects very highly. To insure the expected prosperity, however, it was deemed theoretically right, that the provincial parliaments (the executive head of the empire by himself or a representative and the legislative houses of each) should enact *all* laws. Though some concessions to what was considered as "*the necessity of the case*," were frankly made, limiting the practical extension of this sound theory, yet it is plain, that unless it could have been substantially adhered to, in the administration of the American governments, no reliance could have been placed on the continuance of that degree of prosperity, which existed, nor on the attainment of that height, which circumstances otherwise promised. The wonderful advancement of Great Britain in almost every particular, except her publick debt, during the present century, and the comparatively small progress of Ireland in the same term, afford a striking example of what might have happened to this country, and furnish the best reasons to believe that the United States (as to mere emolument) have gained prodigiously by commuting for the great influence and undefined power of two legislative bodies, *actually* rival and *essentially* foreign, the advantages of governing themselves in all respects, according to the prudent dictates of their own interests. As to the more important article, of a *genuine free constitution*, unexaggerated by political enthusiasm, and unvitiated by any alloying ingredients, America may with modesty affirm, that she is nearer to that *primary object of human desire*, than she would have been in the possession of the most favourable ground, which her best friends in Britain ever proposed for her before the separation.



SIXTH NUMBER.



IT was intimated, in a preceding part of these papers, that the United States have not sustained any loss in the important article of ship-building, which it is proposed now to show, in treating of

*Ships built for ordinary commerce, and for sale.*

THIS branch was of considerable value to the United States before the revolution. Its importance appears greater now, whether it be viewed with regard to the increased quantity (for there appears good reason to think it considerably increased) or with respect to the enhanced value of merchant ships to an independent and maritime country. The quantity built in these states, on the average of 1769, 1770, and 1771, which are the latest years in Lord Sheffield's tables, was 21,726 tons. An account equally minute, for any recent term, has not been obtained; but it is known, that in fifty-three custom house districts (and there are fifteen more,) 29,606 tons of shipping were built between the fourth day of March 1790, and the fourth day of March 1791. This is be-

lieved to be, in many instances, the tonnage paid for to the carpenters; and, in those cases, is less than the vessels really measure, as they are a body of workmen, who generally deal liberally. The remaining fifteen districts will not be found to have built in proportion to the fifty-three, whose present building is stated: but the quantity already known, is considerably beyond the medium of Lord Sheffield's tables, for 1769 to 1771, above mentioned. In the case of New York, the whole is known, and is two hundred and thirty-eight tons more than the former tables. In New Jersey, the building in some districts is unknown, and the difference is two hundred and eighty-eight tons in favour of the late return. In Connecticut, the whole of the building is stated, and it is five hundred and thirty-four tons in favour of the latter term. In Pennsylvania and Delaware, the whole is also known: and the late return exceeds the former by 3,900 tons. In North Carolina, a return of three districts (out of five) only is obtained; and it exceeds the former average by nine hundred and twenty-five tons. In the state of Rhode Island, the whole is ascertained, and it exceeds the former average by about one hundred tons. The port of Baltimore alone, in Maryland, exceeds all the shipbuilding of that state, in the greatest of the three years, by near one hundred per cent. The vessels built in Connecticut, in the returned year, are forty per cent. more than the medium of Lord Sheffield's tables; and Massachusetts exceeds the former medium by 3,713 tons.

It is true, however, that this business in one of the principal building states, has fallen off; but there many of the vessels, intended for sale, were usually built; and it is admitted by Lord Sheffield, that those were our worst vessels. It is material to the United States, and entitles us to a larger credit in an accurate estimation of things, that much more of our military stores, cordage, twine, nails, and spikes, sail-cloth, plumbers work, resin, spirits of turpentine, linseed oil, paints, brass and copper work, and other less important articles expended in building and arming ships, are of the produce and manu-



facture of the country, than was the case in 1771. It is also an important truth, that much greater numbers of foreign vessels are repaired, altered, supplied with cordage and sail-cloth, painted and otherwise wrought upon by our various workmen; the money for which, may be fairly carried to the account of this branch.

At the time when Lord Sheffield wrote, it was not known how much the oak of Great Britain had decreased. We have already noticed this point; and it may be further remarked, that it cannot but decrease yet more, as the supplies of *oak* from the Baltic, are often intercepted by the competition of Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Portugal, Holland, Spain and France, all but the first of which vigorously maintain their naval power; and Prussia has become very considerable in private ships. Lord Sheffield thinks that the cheapness of American shipping arose from their being ill-found and deficient in iron. There is little doubt that the extreme cheapness of those built for sale, was occasioned partly by the cause he mentions: but the best double-decked or galley-built ships, with live-oak lower timbers, and red-cedar top timbers, with white-oak plank on their bottoms, and either that timber or the yellow pine for their sides, can be built and fitted for taking in a cargo, at thirty-four dollars, or 7*l.* 13*s.* sterling per ton; and as good a vessel cannot be procured in Great Britain, France or Holland, under fifty-five to sixty dollars.\*

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\* The papers of the British society for naval architecture admit, that ships fit for the East India service are advanced in their cost, since 1771, forty shillings sterling, nearly equal to nine dollars, per ton; that timber is considerably diminished in quantity, and enhanced in value, in the last twenty years; that the body of working shipwrights, in 1789, were much inferior to those of twenty years back, and that the late acts of parliament respecting registers of ships and other regulations intended to increase British shipbuilding, had not operated in their favour. Profitable employment for *very expensive and numerous* ships cannot be created and extended by a mere legislative fiat.

As the building of coasting and fishing vessels, boats in new forms for our improving inland navigation, vessels on various constructions for public service, and for a very diversified foreign trade, will not only keep the art of shipbuilding at its present height, but will advance it in all respects, it appears to be very doubtful, whether we should anxiously desire to supply foreigners with such cheap means of rivalling us in the carrying trade and fisheries. Our ship and boat yards are not confined to a spot, but indeed are more diffused than formerly. There is no state whose citizens do not pursue the business, and it is commenced upon the western waters. Before the revolution, above half our vessels were paid for by a barter of credit goods for the labour and skill of the artificer; instead of which he now more frequently receives weekly payments in solid coin.

*“ That the imports and exports of the United States will continue for a long time the same.”*

THIS will be found on examination very erroneous. Pot and pearl ashes are shipped in an increased ratio of nineteen to four. The American merchants were once great exporters of iron, hemp, raw hides, and other articles, which they now import in large quantities. The importations of coarse linens, paper, hats, shoes, steel, nails, carriages, malt liquors, and many other articles are considerably reduced. Should impediments be thrown in the way of our fisheries, shipping and foreign commerce, policy, interest, and feeling will prompt us to pursue with decision and ardour the object of *manufactures*, which will give employment to our own capital, and that, which we may derive from foreigners. It must be manifest, for example, that if we are to receive rum in foreign bottoms, and to be refused the transportation of the flour and grain, which are wanted in return, we shall not long continue to use foreign spirits. Our brewers already supply us with more beer than we consume. No more than 70,000 gallons, and 17,500 dozen bottles have been imported in an entire year, ending in August 1790, three

times which quantity is made with ease, by a single brewery, on a very moderate scale. This branch has increased and flourished in the last two years, and an exportation, greater than the importation above stated, has certainly taken place. The home-made distilled spirits are already more than twice as great in quantity, as the spirits imported. If our tobacco ships are excluded from France, they will not bring us brandies; and the grain, that will be raised on our tobacco lands, will yield spirituous and malt liquors to enable us to relinquish foreign brandy. Should a considerable part of our capital be forced out of navigation and foreign trade, the government, without imposing *generally* heavy protecting duties, burdensome to the nation, may give employment for the money, by holding out effectual encouragement to *one branch of manufactures at a time*. If it be selected with judgment—if the use of manual labour be confined within as narrow limits as possible—if labour-saving machines be used—if the articles it works on, be made free of duty—if the growth of them be encouraged at home—if a convenient progressive duty be imposed, there can be little doubt of success. The example of a well-arranged and fortunate attempt once set, others will naturally follow; and nations, whose politicians now grudgingly perceive them take from us the food they are unable to raise, and who treat as a favour the reception of our precious raw materials, may discover, when it will be too late, the evils induced by an over-driven spirit of monopoly.\*

\* After a very careful estimate of a number of the principal branches of American manufacture, the writer of this paper does not hesitate to affirm, that the shoes and boots, saddlery and other articles of leather, gunpowder, snuff, paper and paper hangings, playing cards, pasteboard, books, linen, cotton, and woollen cloths, hosiery, thread, hats, wool and cotton cards, jewellery and watches, manufactures of gold, silver, iron, steel, brass, lead, pewter, and copper, cordage, twine, sail cloth, carriages of all kinds, malt liquors, new ships and boats, leathern gloves and breeches, parchment, glue, cabinet wares, linseed oil, soap, candles, potash, distilled spirits, drugs and chemical preparations, and earthen

*The capacity of the United States to supply Europe with grain and flour.*

A recent publication of Lord Sheffield's, upon the subject of the British corn trade, has lately appeared in this country. As in "the Observations on our commerce," so in this pamphlet, he endeavours to show fallacy in all such ideas as favour the importance of the United States to Great Britain. As this Examination has been necessarily made with little adherence to form or order, and as the *production and commerce of grain*, constitute, without any exception, the most valuable and most commanding of our advantages, it will not be improper, to take some notice of this new attempt of his Lordship's, to disseminate erroneous information and opinions on American affairs.

According to the latest of his tables, the American *provinces*, in 1770, exported but 46,000 tons of bread, flour, and meal, 578,349 bushels of Indian corn, 24,859 bushels of oats, and 851,240 bushels of wheat: and he desires it to be believed, that the United States will not be able, in this particular, to exceed the exportations before the revolution. The return of exports,\* so often mentioned, contains the following articles:

724,623 barrels of flour,	} weighing 77,000 tons.
75,667 do. of bread,	
99,975 do. of meal,	

ware, made in the year last past, exceed in value the manufactured goods, which Great Britain shipt, in the same term, to all foreign nations, but the United States. It will be proper to observe in this place, that chocolate, cheese, wafers, starch, hair powder, ivory and horn wares, whips, millinery, stays, windsor chairs, corn-fans, wheelbarrows, spirits of turpentine, paints, brushes, glass wares, bricks, stone and marble wares, *repairs* of vessels, mustard, loaf sugar, salt, the great article of *making up* apparel, coopers wares, and other things of the nature of manufactures, were not included in the estimate above mentioned.

\* See Appendix, paper B.



1,124,458 bushels of wheat,	
21,765 do.	of rye, (of which article none was exported in 1770.)
2,102,137 do.	of Indian corn.
98,842 do.	of oats,
7,562 do.	of buckwheat, (of which also none was exported in 1770.)
38,752 do.	of peas and beans, (of which also none was exported in 1770.)

It appears then, than on comparing the acknowledged exports of bread and flour, in 1770, with those of the present time, a difference of 50 per cent. is shewn in favour of our agriculture, and that we ship near four times the quantity of Indian corn, and one-third more of wheat, besides the new articles of beans, peas, buckwheat and rye. The tobacco, exported in the above term, was at the rate of 36 per cent. per annum more than before the revolution, besides the difference in the quantity now manufactured. Many circumstances are combining to turn the attention of the planters of this article in the grain states, towards wheat, barley, oats, and Indian corn. This is not a new idea in American farming ; for although wheat was much lower before the revolution than it now is, the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland, was actually declining. The more southern states had not then attempted the production of this article to any considerable extent. The lands, which produced the above extra quantity of tobacco, would have yielded 800,000 bushels of wheat ; the labour would have produced more ; and supposing that half the soil and industry, which were applied to tobacco in 1789, should be appropriated to grain, an addition of 1,400,000 bushels might be made to our productions of that article. To supply the tobacco, some of the rich lands of the more southern states might be employed in its cultivation. But Lord Sheffield tells the people of Britain with great gravity, that *only* the western parts of Connecticut, and the states of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, are capable of yielding wheat. He should have added, that those states con-

tain twice as much as the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, those islands being computed at less than 100,000 square miles by their own geographers. The states of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, together with three-fifths of Pennsylvania, three-fifths of New-York, and about one-half of Virginia, all which lie sufficiently near to *naturally* navigable water, to raise grain for exportation, contain above 130,000 square miles. Kentucky, North Carolina, and the western parts of South Carolina and Georgia, and Vermont, will also add considerably to our exports of grain, when mills, canals, &c. shall encourage the growth and facilitate the transportation. But the state of population is the point to which candour and judgment ought to have led a political economist to advert. He should have reflected, that the United States, whose territory is about a million of square miles, are not yet cultivated and inhabited, by more than 4,000,000 people ;\* that Great Britain and Ireland, with about a tenth of the land (or 100,000 square miles) have twice the agricultural population ; and that the productive powers of this country, (which appears to have doubled its people in 25 years, though injured by eight years of a destructive war,) are *a mean of human sustenance*, to which the more prudent nations of Europe will, and to which all, in the time of need, must have recourse. If their governments prevent it, many of their manufacturers at least must flee from them. The supreme law of necessity will have its due operation, and people, whose means are rendered, by injudicious regulations, unequal to their wants, will certainly resort to those scenes where cheaper food and better wages insure them relief.

It is manifest, that the great increase of our population has been attended with a very considerable addition to our exports of eatables. The statement made in the beginning of the Observations, on this article, is a proof of

\* The actual number of the inhabitants of the United States, appears to be from 3,900,000 to 4,000,000. See Appendix, paper A.

it. Besides this, our shipments of beef and pork, are above two and a half times greater than in 1770, of butter four times, of cheese two and a half times, of potatoes four times, and of rice nearly as great. Add to this, that we have almost put an end to the importation of malt liquors, (a manufacture from grain,) and that we ship as much of them as we import: that we have diminished our importation of distilled spirits, by a million of gallons, since we lost the importation of British rum in our own vessels (though our population is more numerous by a million and a half of persons) which has occasioned the distillation of grain liquors to the amount probably of 4,000,000 gallons, requiring 2,000,000 bushels of grain.

Our continuing to export so large quantities of grain and flour, notwithstanding this great consumption of rye, barley, oats, and even wheat in distilling and brewing, is a strong proof of our raising much more than in former times. But it is not to be forgotten, that considerable quantities are consumed by our *manufacturers*, who are rapidly increasing. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the proportion in which these valuable citizens contribute to the population of our towns. Their numbers in the city of Philadelphia may help to furnish some ground for a reasonable estimate. The silversmiths, brewers, distillers, shipcarpenters, cabinetmakers, cordwainers, tallowchandlers, soapboilers, white and blacksmiths, steelmakers, turners, brasiers, coachmakers, coppersmiths, hatters, tailors, weavers, dyers, leather-breeches makers, glovers, and such other persons as may be properly classed under the head of *manufacturers* (exclusively of house carpenters, masons, painters, victuallers, bakers, barbers, and others, who cannot be correctly denominated so) appear to be about 2,200 persons. The city and suburbs being found to contain near 43,000 men, women, and children, and it being generally supposed, that the adult males are about one-fifth of the whole number, it would appear, that of the 8,600 adult males, contained in Philadelphia, above one-fourth are manufacturers; and consequently, that of the eatables, and

home-made drinkables, consumed in that town, above one-fourth are required for their use, and that of their wives, children, journeymen, apprentices, and servants: an addition for the grain consumed by their horses and cows may be fairly made. This state of things, it is believed, is exceeded by many of the towns in the eastern states, and in some interior situations, where it is manifest that fewer are employed in the learned professions, and foreign commerce, and not so many live upon their incomes.

It will not be pretended, that the United States are able to feed all the nations of Europe, nor that they afford any promise of so extensive a capacity in future. Neither are such ideas conveyed by the representation of the committee of the British privy council, on which Lord Sheffield so vehemently animadverts. They represent, as the result of a careful and deliberate inquiry, their conviction, that the countries of Europe, taken collectively, do not produce, in ordinary years, an aggregate quantity of grain, larger than what appears requisite for the consumption of their inhabitants: and they proceed to observe, that in the event of a failure of crops, a supply can only be had from America. The reasonable meaning of their representation is, that as Europe is an extensive and populous region, making great, constant, and inevitable demands for food; producing in ordinary seasons, that is, usually, *a mere competent supply*, but *no excess*, and is liable to *partial* and even *general failures* of crops; it must, in the event of one of those *partial* or *general misfortunes*, look to some other quarter of the world for relief. With the exception of Barbary, whose capacity to supply appears to be much more limited than ours, no other country than America could present itself to the committee. Great allowances should have been made for those gentlemen, by Lord Sheffield, admitting for a moment they were wrong, as it appears probable they may have been misled by several parts of his treatise on our commerce, which really tend to confirm their doctrine. In that publication, under the head of *wheat and flour*, he observes, "that Canada, Nova Scotia, and



*the American States are likely to have most of the corn trade which England had."* Our supplies to Nova Scotia have been stated; and *as they are admitted from us only when necessity requires them*, the existing licence of the governor of that province to introduce American flour, grain, and live stock *through the whole of the summer* (and indeed from May to November) *when the navigation of Canada is open*, will answer our inquiries about the capacity of those provinces to take away the corn trade from England. Under the same head, and on the following page, he further says, "the American States were *more than competitors* with us for the wheat trade; they had for some years engrossed *nearly the whole* of what we had; and it is computed, upon an average of five years, they had received from Spain and Portugal upwards of £.320,000 sterling, per annum, for that grain." It will surely be deemed very reasonable in the committee to suppose that the United States, which were stated to have supplied the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, for five successive years, with *wheat alone* to the amount of £.320,000 sterling, could have furnished to Great Britain the less sum of £.291,000 sterling, in all kinds of grain and flour, which they have paid to foreign nations for twenty years past. Under the head of "ships built for sale," Lord Sheffield again confirms the ideas of the committee, by saying, in very handsome and forcible language, "America had *robbed* us, at least for a time, of a corn trade, that some time ago brought in to us as much as almost any article of export." As his Lordship considers an honest competition of *fellow citizens* in the light of *robbery*, the accuracy of his other conceptions, will, no doubt, be duly examined.

Lord Sheffield leads to a material error, affecting the just estimation of our corn trade, when he states tobacco to be the principal article of American commerce. It appears, by the return of the treasury, that *flour* is the most valuable and (exclusively of the connected articles of bread, wheat and other grain) it exceeded tobacco by a quarter of a million of dollars. Wheat (including the commodities made of it) is one-third more valuable

than tobacco ; and as this last production appears to have been advanced in quantity, 36 per cent. on a comparison with the exportation of the year 1770, when Lord Sheffield states it to have been our first, the increased importance of wheat is manifested.

If we turn our eyes from Great Britain to other countries, the American grain trade does not appear to be less interesting to Europe and her colonies. Spain, Portugal, the wine islands, the Bahamas, Bermuda, the sugar colonies, the northern British colonies, and the foreign fisheries, regularly demand from us some of the various articles which it comprehends. The cultivation of the vine, the advancement of their colonies, the extension of commerce, and the increase of the manufactures of France, which two last are to be expected in consequence of the revolution in that kingdom, render it highly probable they will not be able to do without supplies from other countries. It is the opinion of their best writers, that they do not ordinarily export more than one-fifteenth of their crop. Should any accident (the introduction of British and Dutch manufacturers, who are accustomed to beer, for example) lead them into breweries, than which nothing is more possible, that small proportion of surplus would be quickly engrossed. There is an idea, on this point, which has been recently started, and which may attract the attention of their practical politicians : the opinion referred to is, that every country which manufactures largely, is in a situation of considerably less danger, if its people ordinarily use drinks made from grain ; because the dreadful consequences of famine may be avoided with certainty and ease, by converting to the use of food, the grain which will be regularly procured from agriculture or importation, to supply the demands of the brewers and distillers. The Dutch have been always unable to raise more than a small proportion of their food ; and the modern estimates of their population countenance the presumption of a large increase. They are, moreover, great brewers and distillers from grain : and their sugar colonies, on the southern main, have wonderfully advanced. These symptoms of new demand, on the part

of the European nations, together with the certain requisitions of grain arising from the universal increase of manufactures and attention to foreign trade, are accompanied by some important circumstances, that prevent a proportionate production of that indispensable necessity. The growth of private wealth in many parts of Europe, particularly in Britain, the consequent increase of horses for equipages and other purposes of pleasure, the laying out of park grounds, and the diversion of lands from the less profitable production of grain to that of grass, the declension of agriculture in Poland, by reason of the extreme badness of their internal arrangements, the probable increase of Polish manufactures, should they become free, the continual efforts of the European manufacturers to draw away the labourers of the farmers, the greater prevalence of emigration to their colonies and other countries among the cultivators, than among the manufacturers, owing to the wretched situation of the agricultural poor in countries, where the high value of land renders it in effect a monopoly, and the present universal attention to political reformation, which for a time interrupts agriculture, are among the causes here contemplated.

But it is not unfair to ask, from what source are the maritime countries of Europe to be supplied, in the event in a failure of the crops of *one* or *more* of them, in so great a degree as from the United States? The value of grain, flour, meal, and bread, from the United States greatly exceeds that of the same articles from the kingdom of Naples and its connected island of Sicily, which have been considered as the granary of the Mediterranean. Poland, once termed the granary of Europe, is less extensive (including Lithuania) than the country of the United States, which furnishes grain for Europe. Its exports are not ascertained: but there appear strong presumptions, that it does not ship through Dantzic and Elbing, half as great a value of grain, and the articles made of grain, as the United States. Britain, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and lately Flanders, are obliged to import. Russia is said to have shipped in 1787, wheat and rye to the

amount of near 1,000,000 of bushels, but imports grain liquors; and manufactures are growing, and wars are frequent in that kingdom. Sweden imports very large quantities of rye, and ships no grain. That article is much the first among the imports of Denmark and Norway. Prussia produces much corn, and exports some: but manufactures are greatly advanced in that kingdom; and the home consumption of grain will probably equal the production, in a few years. In short, a careful and impartial survey of Europe, will confirm the opinion of the committee of the privy council, that the productions of grain in that quarter of the world, are not, generally speaking, more than equal to the consumption of its inhabitants. A moment's recollection will remind us, that even those countries which do not commonly import grain, are, upon the occurrence of small disappointments, obliged to seek it from America, and other foreign states; that some parts of Europe constantly import from us in large quantities; that all of them steadily, or occasionally, directly, or indirectly, supply their colonies from hence; that since the manufactures of Great Britain have been so far extended, as to employ six-elevenths of her people, and since the extension of her manufacture of grain liquors in particular, her dependence for a portion of her bread upon foreign nations, is proved to be unavoidable, by the most settled maxims of her own political economists; that her real deficiency is *the irremovable want* of the requisite proportion of agriculturists; and finally, that even in the present state of our population, the United States actually contribute much more to the supply of the nations of Europe and their colonies, with grain, bread, and flour, than any two, perhaps any three, countries in the world; and that their capacity to enlarge that supply, is steadily and rapidly increasing.

This subject has been dwelt upon the longer for its high importance to the United States, and to the general happiness of mankind; and from the new proofs which Lord Sheffield has given, of a particular indisposition, that Britain should rely on the United States, even in the smallest degree, though we give a greater support to her



manufacturers and shipping than any two other foreign nations. It is feared, that nothing beneficial can be expected between the countries, if the errors and prejudices of so professed a champion against us, have not a very cautious hearing. It will not be deemed unreasonable or improper, to consider in that light a writer, who, in his first book labours to show, that the production and commerce of grain are bad objects of attention to the American States, because (as he pronounces) Europe seldom wants it; and who, in his second book, takes equal pains to prove, that America cannot raise grain for the wants even of Great Britain itself, when he finds it established on high British authority, that their own kingdom and those of other nations in Europe, can only look to America for the deficiency of supply, which the increase of manufactures, of people, of grass and pasturage, of grain liquors, and the uncertainty of seasons, in one or another of them, is constantly producing. He will prove a bad politician, and a very bad British patriot, who shall animate against the manufacturers of Great Britain, *the body of American planters and farmers*, by promoting a severe system, which shall debar them of a chance of making returns for an immense demand of British fabricks, in the unmanufactured productions of their soil and labour. But independent of the danger to Britain, from listening at this time, to so professed an anti-American, a wise nation will not give too much attention to a writer, whose ardent spirit of monopoly leads him to attempt to circumvent the same foreign nation, in her pursuits of commerce—of manufactures—and even of her great, best business, the tillage of a various and productive soil. If the policy of England ought to be a dereliction of some parts of her system of internal or external commerce in favour of agriculture, let her politicians firmly maintain the doctrine. America will approve their patriotism. But in doing this, it surely is not necessary to depreciate the largest purchasers of those manufactures, on which the existence of more than half their people depends. It may be well to reflect too that the industry and soil, which foreign corn laws may tend to deprive of their accustom-

ed object, can be applied to the production of hemp, flax, wool, cotton, leather, and iron, or their preparation in the form of fabricks, to substitute for theirs. It is happy for the United States, that whenever they are injured in the loss of a vent for any portion of a particular production, they can create a market for it by checking the introduction of some connected foreign commodity, and making a succedaneum for it at home.

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Though it would not be difficult, in pursuing the examination of Lord Sheffield's Observations, to adduce many more proofs, that his facts are often erroneous, and his observations frequently unjust; and that his predictions have not been verified, but often contradicted by experience, the subject will not be further pursued. It is confided, that enough has been said to induce an attentive revision of this book. This, it is believed, will be sufficient to lead the British nation to look in future to other sources of information. It may be observed, in extenuation of his Lordship's errors, that the circumstances of the United States are considerably altered since he wrote: but this will not justify the confidence of his *predictions*, nor apologize for the wild errors of them: and it may not improperly be again remarked to those, who are convinced of this great and happy change in our situation, since the year 1784, that a conduct on the part of foreigners, which might have been deemed prudent when our political horizon was darkly clouded, would be unwise now, and might be dangerous to some of their interests hereafter. Of this Lord Sheffield's late book proves him to be not duly sensible.

The United States have many features of natural strength, and many advantages from their local position. The friends of other forms of government will admit, that they have exhibited a highly improved example of a republick, and that they have practised upon the plan, since it was formed, though not a very long time, with extraordinary success. They have no occasion to make

war for territory; and they are considerably removed from the danger of foreign enterprizes against them. Their productions are remarkably diversified, and consequently adapted to various purposes and uses, and are, with a few exceptions, either necessities of life, or articles of such general demand and consumption, as to be nearly as much sought. Having been recently a part of an intelligent and enterprising commercial nation, and having a very extensive sea coast, the citizens of America have been insensibly led to survey all the regions of foreign commerce, and in passing through most of them, have manifested, since the reformation of their political system, every talent requisite for the honourable and lucrative pursuit of trade. The redundant state of private wealth in several foreign nations, promises every addition to our active capital, that occasion can require, if we preserve *the honest spirit* with which the reforms of the general and state governments have been lately made, and the wisdom with which they have been administered. The fulness of the European population, and the degree in which every walk, commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural, is crowded there, afford reason to expect the steady increase of our people. Civil and religious liberty, now settled on rational and tried principles, certify an exemption from all real oppression.

Being disposed to promote the freedom of commerce, the United States would probably have made no regulations, but with a view to revenue, had they not met in almost every country, duties and restrictions in their home trade; and charges, prohibitions, and exclusions, in their colonial trade. But although some nations will not permit us to ship them certain of our articles, others withhold from us certain of theirs, and others impede, absolutely or in effect, the introduction of our own goods in our own bottoms; yet we have hitherto contented ourselves with a small addition to the rates of our tariff, and to the tonnage on ships, both together not exceeding £. 87,000 sterling, *on all foreign nations taken together*. It will not be alleged, that this sum will bear a serious comparison with the injuries our agricul-

ture, manufactures, and commerce sustain from several of the principal European powers.

To obtain relief by arrangements as beneficial to foreign states as to ourselves, will probably be the liberal aim of our government. It is confidently expected, that mutual benefits will create and cement a strong and lasting friendship in the case of those nations with which such arrangements shall be formed; and with regard to others, the wisdom of the legislature, no doubt, will be sedulously exercised either temperately to meet them with the requisite policy and firmness, or to transfer from their hands, to those of more equitable nations, the unrequited benefits they receive from us—or to derive from our own skill, capital, credit, and industry, the accommodations and supplies which they have heretofore furnished upon terms of great advantage to themselves, but which have been inadequately reciprocated to the United States.





## SEVENTH NUMBER.

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*Containing a table of the principal restrictions, impositions and prohibitions sustained by the United States, in their trade with the British dominions, and of those sustained by Great Britain in her trade with the dominions of the United States: also some remarks on certain prevalent topics, relative to the general business and intercourse between the two countries.*

**T**HE intention of the foregoing Examination being solely the correction of error in the statement of facts, and in the opinions or conclusions deduced from them, it will not be improper to pursue the subject with the same views, a little further. An idea, that the balance of favour or indulgence is received by the United States, frequently appears in the publications, and is said to prevail in the minds of persons of weight and influence in Great Britain. It may not therefore be useless to bring up to view the principal facts relative to the question of reciprocity of commercial regulation. An attempt will be made to throw this statement into the form of a table, as it will be the more clear and impressive.

## GREAT BRITAIN

Prohibits American vessels from entering into the ports of several parts of her dominions, viz. the West Indies, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Hudson's Bay, Honduras Bay, and her East India Spice market.

She imposes double light-money on American vessels in most of her ports.

She prohibits the navigating, *ad libitum*, of American vessels, by native or other seamen.

She prohibits the employment of American-built ships by her own citizens, in many branches of trade, upon any terms.

She charges a duty on American sail-cloth, made up in the United States for British ships.

She prohibits the importation of goods from several parts of her dominions into others, in American vessels, upon any terms.

She prohibits the importation of goods into Great Britain, by American vessels, from any other country than the United States.

She prohibits the importation into Great Britain from the United States, by American vessels, of all goods not produced by the United States.

## THE UNITED STATES

Admit British vessels into all their ports, subject to a tonnage duty of 44 cents, or 24 sterling pence, more than American vessels, and an addition of one-tenth to the amount of the impost accruing on their cargoes.

They do not impose extra light-money on British vessels in any of their ports.

They admit the navigating of British vessels by native or other seamen, *ad libitum*.

They admit the employment of British-built ships by their own citizens, in every branch of trade, upon the terms of 44 cents extra per ton, and one-tenth extra on the impost arising from their cargoes.

They do not charge a duty on British sail-cloth, made up in Great Britain for American ships.

They admit the importation of goods from any part of their dominions into another, in British vessels, on the terms of 44 cents per ton extra on the vessel.

They admit the importation of goods into the United States, in British vessels, from every country whatever.

They do not prohibit the importation into the United States from Great Britain, by British vessels, of any goods not produced by Great Britain.

GREAT BRITAIN.

She prohibits the importation of any goods previously brought into the United States, from the said states into Great Britain, even in British vessels.

She prohibits the exportation of several articles from Great Britain to the United States.

She lays duties of various rates upon the exportation of many articles to the United States.

She prohibits the importation of all manufactures from the United States, into her European dominions, and her colonies, unless it be some very simple preparations and decoctions, requisite to her navy, shipping and manufactures.

She imposes very considerable duties upon some of the *agricultural* productions of the United States, and excludes others by duties equal to their value.

She prohibits for considerable terms of time, some of the principal *agricultural* productions of the United States, and others at all times.

It is understood that by treaty she grants some favours, which are not extended to the United States.

She prohibits the importation of some American articles, in American ships, or any but British ships, into her European dominions.

THE UNITED STATES.

They do not prohibit the importation of any goods previously brought into Great Britain, from that kingdom into the United States, in either British or American bottoms.

They do not prohibit the exportation of any article from the United States to Great Britain.

They do not lay a duty on the exportation of any article whatever to Great Britain.

They do not prohibit the importation of any manufacture whatever from Great Britain.

They impose moderate duties (lower than any other foreign nation by 2, 3, and 4 for one) on the *produce and manufactures* of Great Britain, except in a very few instances, and exclude scarcely any articles by duties equal to their value.

They prohibit none of the *agricultural* productions of Great Britain or her dominions.

They treat Great Britain as favourably as any nation whatever, as to ships, imports, and exports and in all other respects.

They do not prohibit the importation of any British article in British vessels or any but American vessels.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

She does not permit an American citizen to import goods into some of her dominions, and to sell them there even in British vessels. In other parts of her dominions, she lays an extra tax on him, or his sales.

She imposes heavy duties on certain articles of the produce of the American fisheries, and insupportable duties on others, in some parts of her dominions; and in other parts, she prohibits their importation.

She prohibits the consumption of some American articles, of which she permits the importation.

She prohibits the importation of American articles from foreign countries into the British dominions, even in her own ships.

## THE UNITED STATES.

They permit a British citizen to import goods into all their ports, in any vessels, and to sell them there without any extra tax on him, or his sales.

They impose only five per cent. on the produce of the British fisheries (which duty is drawn back on exportation) and admit every article derived from them.

They do not prohibit the consumption of any British article whatever.

They do not prohibit the importation of British articles from foreign countries in any ships.

In detailing the regulations of foreign nations, so various and complex as those of Great Britain, it is not easy to be correct. The above statement, however, is sincerely believed to contain the substance of the existing British restrictions, prohibitions and impositions upon commerce, so far as they have any relation to the possible or actual intercourse with the United States. Those which are to be found in the acts of Congress, or which result from them, are few, and are conceived to be correctly given in the table. On a review of the whole of these regulations, it will be perceived, that those of the United States are considerably more favourable to the subjects of the British crown, and their manufactures, produce and navigation, than those of Great Britain are to the corresponding interests of the citizens of the United States. It has appeared necessary to make a statement in detail and by a comparative contrast, in order that we might render manifest, *an absolute and important truth*, that the commercial impediments to Great Britain in the laws of the United States, are much less considerable than those in



the acts of the British parliament are to the United States. Had this statement been confined to *the island of Great Britain* alone, on the one part, and our dominions at large, on the other, it would have been found, that our obstructions to British commerce are far less than those which Britain throws in the way of the commerce of the United States. But it is fair and natural for us, in considering a *national* subject, to take into our estimation the whole of the territories of the British crown, and the whole population, trade, manufactures, and productions thereof; more especially as it is plain, that all considerations, relative to the American side, are extended to our whole territory and all its appurtenances, and relative circumstances. Should Great Britain prove that exceptions respecting colonies are as reasonable on her part, as they are fashionable, still it remains to be counterbalanced, that no such exceptions are made by us; for we treat the vessels, produce and citizens of *the colonies*, as we treat those of Britain. If it is politic and right that the parliament of Great Britain should exclude us from their colonial trade, then Great Britain ought not to complain of any *countervailing* regulations, which may exclude her from some *equivalent* advantage in our trade: and so in regard to any other country. Should it be proved, that all nations have interdicted their colonial trade to foreigners, it will be no less easy to show, that the withholding of any kind of advantage from a foreign nation, by reason of the particular circumstances of the restricting party, has always been deemed a justification for some corresponding restriction on the part of the country suffering. But it cannot be proved, that all nations prohibit the participation in their colonial trade to foreigners. The French, the Swedes, the Danes, and the Dutch govern themselves differently from Britain and from one another. The interdicting rule is not universal. It cannot be rendered permanent, uniform, or precise. It must, therefore, be liable, like other commercial objects, to *legislative discretion and treaty*, and must be involved in the general question of *reciprocity*. Were this not the case, the greatest political absurdities would be induced. Let it be

supposed for a moment, that two European nations possess transmarine colonies of equal value, and that one of them grants a perfect freedom of the trade of her colonies to the United States, while the other absolutely refuses that advantage to us. It will not be alleged, that the last of these nations has claims to a participation in the commerce of the United States, equal to those of the former. Further—the distinction taken, with regard to *colonies*, does not apply to all the transmarine dominions of the British crown. Canada, Nova Scotia, New-Brunswick, Jamaica, and a part of the island of St. Christophers, for example, are *conquered\* countries*, to whose commerce, considerations other than colonial, apply. And were the idea of colonies strictly adhered to (*viz.* the establishment of bodies of natives, who have emigrated from a state, and settled in a new country, politically connected with the old one) it would be found, that several of the new states of America are more truly colonies of the older states, than several islands and provinces, which bear the appellation, are colonies of Great Britain.

As it has been an uniform opinion of Lord Sheffield and other persons in England, that shipbuilding would be annihilated in the United States, the present state of that business, it is hoped, will destroy some material miscalculations, and will prove, that we do not labour under an inability to carry our own productions without the aid of *any one* foreign nation. If we have not yet encountered the expence of a navy, let it be remembered, that Prussia, which has many more private vessels than Russia, has acted the same part; although the empress, with fewer merchant ships than any maritime power in Europe, and much fewer than the United States, has nevertheless a very formidable navy.

Nations, which at present enjoy any considerable portion of the American trade, must sustain very unfavoura-

\* I do not clearly understand what this distinction imports between colonies and conquered states. All states, however originally acquired, are entitled to the best and finest government which their actual circumstances admit. No one can be more sensible of this, than the author of this excellent Treatise appears to be. Ed.

ble consequences from the continuance of impediments or burdens on our future intercourse with their dominions. Our exports, being transported in our own ships and those of any less unkind country, may advance the manufactures and trade of a nation adjacent and rival to them—or, sent to the colonies of more favourable nations, may greatly increase interfering colonial productions. It is with the utmost difficulty, that any nation now accomplishes circuitous supplies of other European countries with our produce; and it will become our duty to make foreign nations sensible of the disadvantages of double freights and charges, under which they receive our productions, the loss arising from which, falls in part, upon our farmers, and, in part, upon their citizens, who are the consumers. Aggravating impediments to our trade, are now deeply and constantly wounding the manufacturers in Europe, who work up American raw materials, or who supply us with their fabricks. Duties on our iron, for example, reduced the price, and thus occasioned it to be bought at home to manufacture: and so of other native raw materials. The refusal of cotton, and other raw articles, not of our growth, in any bottoms, from America, makes them cheaper to our manufacturers, or to the exporters of them, for the use of those European manufacturers, whose laws will permit them to be received from hence. Impediments in the way of our shipping, or heavy duties on merchandise from hence, occasion the merchants, as before observed, in regard to our produce, to send foreign raw materials to countries, that will admit the vessels and goods upon more easy terms. Nations, in this enlightened age, will more and more avail themselves of *the mistakes* that obtain in the commercial regulations of their neighbours and rivals: and the errors of restrictions and duties, so far as they shall be really impolitic, will thus induce a certain and consequent suffering by those who impose them on us. So, as one country drives our vessels and produce from her ports, others may be thereby induced to open their markets to them. The currents of com-

merce, like those of the rivers, will certainly be turned from that side where obstructions are created.

The United States have been led to serious and beneficial reflexion on their affairs, by the prevailing disposition to restrict their intercourse with Europe, and the severer regulations of several nations in regard to the commerce of their transmarine dominions. They are prompted to decide that the immense savings and the extensive advantages they can derive from manufactures, protected by their own laws, render them no less worthy of a share of their capital and industry, than foreign commerce. The importance of this object has been forced upon the minds of many, by European restrictions: and a continuance of those restrictions, will, though gradually, yet infallibly, make converts of the whole nation. So weighty are the considerations relative to manufactures, in the opinions of many, that it begins to be seriously questioned, whether the employment of a share of 20 or 25,000 tons of vessels in the British West India trade, and of less than half that quantity in the trade to their remaining colonies, ought to induce our consent materially to keep down or diminish any salutary duties on foreign manufactures. The American impost is now very moderate, compared with that of other nations; unquestionably the most so of any which British goods encounter in foreign countries. It does not exceed, on a medium, 8 or 9 per cent. Were it to be increased to 14, 20, 25, 28, and even 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. as in France, Spain, and Portugal—were prohibitions to be added on some articles, as in those countries, and on all articles, as in one or two others (with a judicious postponement of the time, for the strongest regulations to take place) what would be the consequences, what the effects upon the transplanting of foreign capital and manufactures to the United States? It may be urged, that we should be injured by such prohibition, or even by the higher rates of duty above mentioned. So far as we did not get manufactures established in the mean time, that might be the case; but the same might be observed, in regard to the commercial regulations of Great Britain, some of which really



injure her; and many of which injure Ireland, the West Indies, and the remaining colonies.

If it is in the power of Great Britain to draw from other countries, the articles she obtains from us of better quality, and upon lower terms, which is often asserted to be possible, it is not to be forgotten, that by ceasing to receive any goods from the United States, the benefit of employing her ships will be so far lost. The articles rejected may be somewhat more difficult for us to sell, and therefore will be necessarily converted, in a greater degree than at present, into manufactures, or they may go to supply other nations, who now purchase those foreign articles, which it is alleged Britain can procure with more advantage. Among the objections Great Britain ought to have to this, the new foreign connexions we shall be thereby led to form, and the cement it will give to old ones, will not be found the least. But the assertion really is not true. The furs and skins, the oak timber, oak boards, oak planks, staves, pot ash, pearl ash, ginseng, the same quality of rice, some qualities of tobacco, the grain, in case of short European crops, and some of the naval stores cannot be obtained in quantity and quality from other countries.

We are not unfrequently reminded, when the loss of the American market and consumption of British manufactures is spoken of, that, notwithstanding our former non-importation agreements, and the interruptions of the war, the British manufactories were more flourishing, than during the previous peace, when our demand was the greatest. There appear to be some reasons, however, for doubting the truth of this assertion. The tables in Anderson's commerce, already mentioned, state the exports of the year 1774 at £.17,607,447, and those of 1781, at £.11,470,388. This declension was regular, almost every year's exports being less than those of the preceding. The facts are the more remarkable, as the imports of Great Britain in 1781, were greater than those in 1776, or in any intermediate year, and the prices of raw articles and provisions exported, were higher. It is to be observed, also, that large exports for the British mer-

chants and dealers, who sold extra supplies to their armies and navies in America, the West and East Indies, Gibraltar, &c. were made, for the use of the great number of officers, soldiers, and seamen, employed in those places. The extra public purchases of clothing, tents, arms, cordage, sail cloth, porter, and other *manufactured* articles, for their sea and land forces, must have been immense, when we reflect, that about £.14,000,000 per annum, on an average of the term of the war, was added to their debt, besides the great sums of money collected and paid within the year; and that the supplies granted for 1781, exceed those of 1774 by £.19,300,000, a larger sum by 100 per cent. than Great Britain usually exported in manufactures prior to the late treaty of peace. The expenditures of such a war, must, indeed, occasion the woollen, linen, leathern and metal branches, and several others, to flourish exceedingly: but the consequences in regard to the increase of burdens on the people, and to the national prosperity, must be viewed in the most serious light. In the time of the war, too, foreign manufactures could be less easily introduced into their own markets, which left the demand for consumption and importation to be supplied by their own people. It is to be observed further, that the eight years which followed 1774, were those in which machinery was first rendered considerably profitable in Great Britain. Before the American war, the cotton branch was very inconsiderable in that country; but though it has increased wonderfully since the peace, it must have felt a very large advancement during the term in which our regular importations from thence were cut off. Other branches were aided during those years, by the introduction of machinery, manual slight, and new processes, so as to diminish the effects of the interruption of the American demand. It is in the highest degree probable, that the loss of our consumption would be sensibly felt at this time. In a season of peace, the enormous extra demand for the use of their armies and navy does not exist. Ireland now menaces Great Britain with the diminution of her importations. Such extraordinary *new* inventions of mechanical aid are not

to be expected again—and the United States might derive a very considerable degree of independency on British manufactures, by the adoption of labour-saving machines, (the peculiar value of which, to them, they are beginning to perceive) in the cotton, flaxen, hempen, metal, and part of the woollen and silken branches, to all of which raw materials they apply. The capacities of the United States for establishing these mills, and manufactures in general, will be exemplified in the case of New Jersey, which by a return in 1784 is ascertained to have had then 41 fulling mills, 8 furnaces, 79 forges, 366 saw mills, 508 grist mills, and 192 tan yards, though her population appears to be about one part in twenty-one of that of the United States. Were the United Netherlands to seize a moment of uneasiness between us and Great Britain, and were they to devote their shipping and immense private capital to the supply and promotion of machine manufactures, they would prove dangerous rivals to England in all foreign markets: and the same may be said in regard to the efforts of other countries, if they were seriously to undertake manufactures by labour-saving machinery.

It may be fairly asked, what country supports the navy of Great Britain, in so great a degree as the United States, by the employment they give to her ships? The Russian trade furnishes cargoes for much less than 230,000 tons, which is the exact quantity of British vessels that cleared from these States, in the year following August 1789. The whole Baltic trade of Great Britain, with all the countries of the various powers that lie within the sound, important as it is to her, does not fill more. Their trade with Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal, does not all together employ as many vessels. Their whole fisheries, American colonial trade, and West India trade, do not employ and load more. And how, it may be further asked, are the United States requited for thus strengthening the acknowledged bulwark of Great Britain, by annually giving a complete lading to the unequalled quantity of 230,000 tons of her private vessels? The whole of the American vessels, which have ar-

rived in our ports, in the same year, from all the countries and places subject to the British crown, amount to no more than 43,580 tons. Yet there are not wanting persons, who will affirm, that the balance of *favour* is given to the United States: and, that Great Britain is so far injured by our deportment, as to justify a retaliation upon us!

There are some considerations drawn from the state of things in Europe, which ought to render the British commerce with the United States, and the consumption of British manufactures by the citizens of this country, matters of greater than former importance. The infusion of republican qualities into the governments of that quarter of the world, will be followed by the extension of trade, internal and external. The character of the merchant and manufacturer will be duly esteemed, and large portions of dormant capital, and numerous classes of inactive men, will be turned by circumstances to employments, which will have lost their ancient imaginary disrepute. The tendency of such events, in regard to the supply of raw materials, and in regard to manufactures which America now draws from Great Britain, will not be difficult to discover.

A reliance is sometimes placed upon the disposition of the southern parts of the United States of America, in favour of such regulations of commerce, as would be agreeable to Great Britain—that is, the easy and uncumbered admission of her ships and manufactures into our ports. Whatever truth there may be in regard to some of those states, it is known they are far from unanimous, on that subject. It may be questioned, too, whether measures, which would create disputes, and interrupt the British trade with America, would not be disagreeable and inconvenient to the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, as was manifestly the case on the occasion of the late difference with Russia. Ports circumstanced as Liverpool and Lancaster, which have large concerns in ships, and comparatively little other trade but as carriers and shipholders, may be disposed to promote any measures, that will advance navigation, at the ex-



pense of general commerce, manufactures, and agriculture; but the great capitalists and merchants of London, Bristol, and Glasgow, &c. and the manufacturers of Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, Norwich, Yorkshire, &c. will view with due seriousness, the probability of diverting our trade into other channels, and the deliberate and decided measures, to promote American manufactures, which the restraints upon our navigation and commerce may hereafter produce. The objections of those parts of the southern states, which may be averse to further impositions on foreign merchandise, will be moderated by their convictions, that American manufactures may be brought to consume and work up their productions at home, and to furnish them in return by not very slow degrees, with the supplies they now derive from abroad.

At the time when this examination was commenced, it was believed, from many symptoms, that the true state of things in this country was little known or understood in Great Britain. The prejudices naturally arising from so warm a contest as that of 1775, the disorders which grew out of a lax and ill digested government, and the errors incidental to an inexperienced country, suddenly elevated from a colony to an empire, all contributed to deceive and mislead Great Britain, in her estimation of the United States. The volume of Lord Sheffield was supposed to increase the public misconceptions. His work upon the Irish commerce in 1785, represented the American States in the same unfavourable manner in several passages. Symptoms of error in the opinions of other persons of respectable standing in the British community, were, unfortunately, observable. It appeared, therefore, to be a matter of great importance to both nations, that an attempt should be made to point out past, and to correct existing mistakes. While it has been desired in doing this, to excite no painful sensations in the minds of those who are connected with the interests of Great Britain, it has not been deemed necessary or fit to suppress any truths, because they might prove unacceptable to persons if any such there be, who may want magnanimity enough to receive them with modera-

tion, and to examine them with candour. The facts adduced on this occasion, are certainly not the more true, because they have been asserted in this publication, nor will it be denied, that coming from an American press, they should be examined, on the other side carefully and thoroughly. It was sincerely treated in the beginning as genuine policy in nations, to avoid short lived deceptions, and rather to search diligently for the ground of common interest, which can never be ascertained by misrepresentation, or by erroneous or disingenuous investigation. If arrangements beneficial to the two countries can be effected, it must be through means very different from those. The minds of well intentioned and able men on both sides should be dispassionately applied to the necessary inquiries and discussions; the subject should be thoroughly examined and understood, and frank admissions of the advantages derived by either nation from the other, ought to be made. With the lights, which might be thus obtained, it would not be difficult to determine whether the nature of things in the United States and Great Britain, requires or admits of a treaty of friendship and commerce.





## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

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*Concerning the progress and present state of American domestick, or household, manufactures.*

**I**N the passage of the Observations, which forms the head of paper No. 3, to which this note belongs, the writer predicts, that we shall give a preference to British manufactures; that we shall not manufacture for ourselves; and that our demand for British goods will increase, in proportion to our population. The facts, in opposition to these ideas, which relate to the supplies drawn from foreign nations, have already been stated; as have most of those which regard American manufactures, produced by those who pursue them as a *separate occupation or calling*. But Lord Sheffield does not appear to have foreseen the present state of our *family or household* manufactures.

The progress and present state of this invaluable branch of the national industry, exceeds every idea, it is believed, that has been formed of it, either in this country or in Europe. In all the states inhabited almost entirely by white people, domestick manufactures are known

to be very considerable, yielding a considerable surplus for the use of the other parts of the union. But it is generally supposed, that in the states where the black people are numerous, (and especially near their sea coasts, where imported goods can be constantly and easily obtained) little or no manufactures are made. The following abstract from a minute statement of the household manufactures, in one neighbourhood, of twenty families (rich and poor) indiscriminately taken, and in a part of Virginia, on a navigable river emptying into the Atlantic ocean, where the whites are to the blacks, as one to two, will show that much more is probably made, than is generally believed to be the case.

Male and female housekeepers,	- - - -	20
Total number of white and black persons,	- - - -	301
Fine table linen, sheeting, shirting, &c. yards,	- - - -	1,907
Negro clothing, blanketing, &c. yards,	- - - -	1,007
Value of fine cloth, &c. per yard,	- - - -	cents 60
Value of coarse ditto, per ditto	- - - -	42
Pairs of fine stockings,	- - - -	152
Pairs of coarse ditto,	- - - -	108
Highest value made in one family,	- - - -	dolls. 267
Lowest ditto,	- - - -	21½
Total value of the manufactures of the 20 families,	- - - -	1,670½
Families that did not manufacture,	- - - -	1
Term.	- - - -	the year 1790

The following table, obtained in the like indiscriminate and impartial way, has also been exhibited from another county of the same state, the situation of which is interior.

Families, rich and poor,	- - - -	20
Yards of linen,	- - - -	1,095
Yards of woollen,	- - - -	344
Yards of cotton,	- - - -	1,681
Pairs of stockings,	- - - -	174
Pairs of shoes made on the estates,	- - - -	237
Total value,	- - - -	dolls. 1791
Term	- - - -	the year 1790

A person of reputation who furnished the latter statement, accompanied it with an assurance, that it might



be considered as a fair average of the *family* manufactures throughout the adjacent counties.

These papers have been obtained under circumstances that justify a reliance on their truth, and are believed to be very little variant from the medium of the state of Virginia. Though they cannot be made the basis of a satisfactory estimate, the following brief one is hazarded merely to show the result. In Virginia (exclusively of Kentucky) 70,825 families appear on the late census. The lowest of the above returns (1,670 $\frac{1}{2}$  dollars) is at the rate of 83 $\frac{1}{2}$  dollars to each family for home made *bossery and cloths* of wool, flax, hemp and cotton, only. Two thirds of this rate upon the whole number of families (cutting off a third, to make a moderate calculation, and omitting odd numbers) give the prodigious sum of 3,900,000 dollars for those articles of mere *domestick* manufacture (exclusively of the work of regular tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, weavers and other tradesmen) in Virginia; and, taking the United States at 3,900,000 persons, would appear to justify a computation of above 20,000,000 dollars for the whole.

Through similar means, but on the examination of other persons in the counties of Accomack and Northampton, lying on the bay of Chesapeake and the Atlantic ocean, it appears, that 315,000 yards of flaxen cloth are made in a district containing 2,729 families: also 45,000 yards of woollen, 30,000 yards of cotton, and 45,000 yards of linen and woollen cloth, and a quantity of coarse stockings nearly equal to the demand. It is added that all the shoes, and three-fourths of the clothing of that country, are made by the tradesmen, or within the families, who reside in it. The raw materials, including the cotton, are the growth of their farms.

Another communication through the same channel, states the manufactures of iron to exceed all others in Virginia (which must be erroneous, if household manufactures, as well as trades, be taken into the calculation) and that the greater part of the farmers and planters tan the hides of the cattle they consume.

Two other communications from the same state inform, that *the families* in certain vicinities mentioned in them, make on a medium near 200 yards each of cotton, woollen, and linen goods—and that five-sixths of the shoes, cloth, and stockings, which are used in that country, are made in the household way. These two last statements contemplate four counties.

Similar information from the interior parts of South Carolina (though less strong and extensive) has also been obtained, accompanied with a variety of specimens of substantial, midling and coarse cotton, woollen, and linen goods, of which it is stated, that the inhabitants of that country manufacture, entirely in the family way, as much as they have occasion for, “cotton, flax, and hemp, being plentiful, and there being a considerable stock of good sheep; that there is a great deal done in the household way,” and “that the greatest exertions are made; that they have been long in the habit of doing something in family manufactures, but have improved much in the last two years; and that the weaving is done by the females,” which leaves the industry of the males to be applied to agriculture.

It is well established, that similar habits prevail in the interior country of Georgia; and in the midland and western counties of North Carolina, they are as attentive to domestick manufactures as the people of Virginia.

Such is the state of domestick or household manufactures in the southern states, where abundance of very fertile and cheap lands, and a large portion of black population, are supposed, in Europe, and even in our own country, to have prevented any considerable attention to that frugal and industrious pursuit.

Let us now turn to the northern scenes, where a more replete population, and a less productive soil have led to the prosecution of many branches of manufactures as regular trades.

The result of a careful inquiry, in every county of the state of Connecticut, has been uniform information from twenty four vicinities, that *domestick* manufactures are carried to a very great extent. The articles, made in the family way, and by persons engaged ordinarily in the cul-

tivation of the earth, are woollen and linen cloths, including sailcloth; bedticks, some cotton goods, hosiery, nails, and spikes, some silk buttons, handkerchiefs, ribands, and stuffs, sewing silk, threads, fringe, and pot and pearl ashes. It is observed, that there is scarcely a family in the state of Connecticut, so rich or so poor, as not assiduously to attend to domestick manufactures; that they are extending and improving very fast in quantity, variety, and quality;—and that considerable parcels of household linens, &c. are carried out by land and exported by water to the middle and southern states. Here then is a *surplus* of household manufactures sold *out of the state*. It is an acknowledged fact, that New England linens have affected the price and importation of that article from New York to Georgia. The foregoing statement is not intended to comprehend the manufactories of woollen cloths, hats, cotton goods, sailcloth, checked and plain linens, shoes and boots, bell metal, buttons, wool and cotton cards, flaxseed oil, soap, candles, nails, anchors, axes, spades, shovels, cabinet work, carriages, saddles, books, &c. &c. conducted as regular and separate trades by individuals, companies, and associations, which are very considerable.

An enquiry has also been made, by a person of judgment, in the state of Massachusetts, who alleges, that the importations of foreign *manufactures* into that state, are less by one half, at this time, than they were twenty years ago, though there has been a prodigious increase of population, and though considerable quantities of home-made articles, are transported by land and water, to other parts. This is ascribed, in a very great degree, to the domestick manufactures, which are observable in the dresses and furniture of the people, and in the outward cargoes of the coasting and other trading vessels. The informant here contemplated, produced documents to shew the magnitude of some of the regular trades, among which were 10,000 dozen pair of cotton and wool cards, much the greater part of which are applied to domestic manufactures throughout the United States, 2,400 pieces of sailcloth per annum, at a single factory, 100 tons of nails per annum, at the Taunton factory alone, and 150,000 pair of stuff and silk shoes in the single town of Lynn, of which 10,355 pair had been

shipt by one family to the Philadelphia market in a single year, although the manufacturers of that city, in the same line, are very expert and numerous.

Another informant has furnished a return, from which it appears, that in the last year thread and silk laces, and edgings, black and white, amounting to 41,979 yards, were manufactured in the family way, and not in regular factories, in the town of Ipswich in the Massachusetts, which contains, by the late census, 4,562 men, women, and children. Pattern cards, containing thirty six specimens of these hitherto unnoticed manufactures, have been exhibited. This township comprehending a small sea-port, and consequently being open to foreign goods, and the freight of so compact an article as lace, being very small, it will be considered as a curious fact, that this manufacture should have grown up there to so great a height. It is added in the information, that laces are made in various parts of Massachusetts, though no where in so great a degree. It is also understood to be a domestick manufacture in several parts of Connecticut.

The existence and continual increase of domestic manufactures, in Rhode Island and New Hampshire, are established on similar authority:—and the growth of regular trades is very great in the former, in proportion to its population. It is supposed to have succeeded as well as any scene, in its attempts in the cotton branch, by labour-saving machines. The following parcels of goods were manufactured, in the *family* way, in the first nine months of 1791, in the town of Providence, though it is a seaport, and has a number of regular shops and factories, for making several of the same species of goods.

Linen cloth,	-	-	-	-	25,265 yards.
Cotton ditto,	-	-	-	-	5,858 ditto.
Woollen ditto,	-	-	-	-	3,165 ditto.
Carpeting,	-	-	-	-	512 ditto.
Stockings,	-	-	-	-	4,093 pairs.
Gloves and mitts,	-	-	-	-	859 ditto.
Fringe,	-	-	-	-	260 yards.



Three millions of nails (by tale) and 30,000 yards of woollen cloth were made, in 1790, in the town and vicinity of Providence. The industry of farmers and housewives contributed materially to the manufacture of these articles.

The extent of the woollen branch of domestick manufactures, in New Hampshire, is evinced by the great number of its fulling mills; for they have no considerable factory employed on that raw material. The same may be observed in regard to the general knowledge of the art of weaving, among the wives and daughters of the farmers in that state. This fact is very frequently observable throughout New England, and some other parts of the United States. The number of fulling mills in New Jersey, which have already been stated to be forty-one, is a proof of their domestic manufactures; as they have not any factories. In the vicinity of the town of Reading, in Pennsylvania, are ten fulling mills, which induces the same conclusion there; and they are very numerous throughout the state. The export of flaxseed is equal to that of former times; the manufacture of oil consumes a far greater quantity than heretofore: wherefore a large growth of flax is to be inferred; and as we have very few linen factories, and the exportation of flax has ceased, a great domestic manufacture of linens must exist. The sale of spinning-wheel irons, *in one shop* in the city of Philadelphia, in the course of the last year, has amounted to 1,500 sets, which, though a small fact, is strongly indicative of the extent of domestick manufactures, as spinning-wheels are rarely, if ever, exported, or used in regular factories. The quantity sold is 29 per cent. greater than in any former year. Nail-making is frequently a household business in New England, a small anvil being found no inconvenience in the corner of a farmer's chimney. Bad weather, hours of disengagement from the occupations of the farm, and evenings, are thus rendered seasons of steady and profitable industry. Public estimates of the grain and fruit distilleries of the United States, have been made at 3,500,000 gallons; much the greater part

of which is made by farmers and planters. The importation of cheese from all countries into the United States, was only forty tons, in the year ending in August 1790: and we exported a much larger quantity in the same term, from which a great manufacture of that article (in the domestic way, of course) is to be inferred. In short, domestic manufactures are great, various, and almost *universal* in this country.

The implements hitherto used in household manufactures, have been of the most ancient kinds. The art of dying has been advanced in families little further than what was communicated by a recipe as brief as those in a book of culinary instructions; the colouring ingredients have generally been such as nature handed to the thrifty housewife. The operations, from the raw to the manufactured state, have often been the simplest that can be conceived. Under circumstances like these, it will not be too sanguine to expect that the dissemination of useful instruction in the practice of dying, in the nature of colours, and concerning other parts of the business, the introduction of the new improvements in the preparing and spinning machinery, on a scale as convenient as the common weaving apparatus, and the general use of the flying shuttle, and the double loom, may give a two-fold value to this most precious branch of the national industry. It will not be deemed one of the least favourable circumstances in the affairs of a country so eminently capacitated for agriculture as the United States, that the prosperous course of that great employment of their citizens, is accompanied with an assiduous prosecution of this economical domestic occupation, by persons of all ages and sexes, in hours and seasons, which cannot be employed in agricultural labour or in their ordinary family duties.





## ADDITIONAL NOTE.



### *On manufactures in general.*

**T**HE following representation of the manufactures at present existing in the United States, will tend to exhibit the ground of reliance which they afford at this time; and presents the most encouraging assurances of their steady progress to permanent establishment.

#### I.

*Tanned and tawed leather, dressed skins, with and without the hair or fur, and manufactures thereof,* form one of the best established and most important branches. The consumption and exportation of the following articles, made wholly or in part of leather or skins, are great, and, in several instances, general; and the importation of them, excepting the articles of gloves and fur trimmings, is very inconsiderable. Rigging hides, parchment, shoes, boots, and slippers, common harness of all kinds, harness and leathern materials for pleasurable carriages, saddles and bridles, housings, holsters, saddlebags, portmantaus, boot straps, leathern and hair trunks, fire-buckets, military articles, such as slings, belts, cartouch boxes and scabbards; leathern breeches and some vests and draw-

ers, men's and youth's, and some women's gloves, fur muffs and tippets, linings and trimmings of fur for women's and men's apparel, some chair bottoms, the coatings of wool and cotton cards, and the leathern materials of other manufacturing implements and utensils ; to which may be added glue, being an economical manufacture from the otherwise useless part of raw and dressed skins, and from old leathern articles.

## II.

*Manufactures from hemp and flax*, form another very important and well established branch. These are made as well in regular factories and workshops, as in the household way. Cables, cordage, tarred and untarred ; seines and nets of various kinds, twine and packthread, sail-cloth, tow-cloth, white and checked shirtings, sheetings, toweling, table linen, bed ticks, hosiery, sewing thread, and some thread lace, are the articles manufactured of these raw materials. Nearly the whole of the hemp and flax are now of native growth ; and as they are productions of every state, the fabrics made of them are peculiarly interesting. This circumstance gives breadth and solidity to the foundation of the linen branch, and to all others to which it is common.

## III.

*Manufactures of iron*, form a very increasing and useful branch. Under this head, the article of nails deserves particular notice, being brought to the footing of a domestic manufacture in several of the states. The other fabrics, made of this raw material, are steel, sheet iron, nail rods, wheel tire, hoops, weights, stoves, pots and other castings, scale beams, plough irons, hoes and other farming utensils, the iron and steel work for pleasurable and working carriages and for ship building, anchors, household utensils of various kinds, screw-presses, some saws, and planes, axes and other utensils for artizans and manufacturers, and *arms* of various kinds. It is reasonable to conclude that the manufacture of military articles



become inconsiderable during the existing peace. The abundance of mill seats, ore and fuel in the United States, a most extensive demand, and the heavy charges of importation, are among the circumstances which have given a respectable establishment to the iron manufactories.

#### IV.

*Manufactures of wool, and mixtures thereof with cotton and flax*, form another branch of peculiar importance, from their being principally the productions of domestic industry, at times and seasons which can be spared from other occupations. These are broad and narrow cloths, chiefly common or coarse; coatings, casimers, serges, flannels, hosiery, some blankets, linsey woolsey, and negro cloth in very large quantities, coverlets and counterpanes, men's and boys hats, a few carpets, fringe, cord, and tassels. This raw material will eventually prove universal in the United States, and is already found in every state.

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The four preceding branches may be thrown into the first class, in regard to present importance, and are established in a *considerable degree*. They are increasing rapidly, and particularly the three first, from the facility of procuring very large quantities of the requisite raw materials, the introduction of various new implements and machinery, the abundance of fuel, lime, bark, and other articles employed in their manufacture. The latter is steadily progressive in quantity, and has improved rapidly within the last two years.

#### V.

*Manufactures of cotton, and mixtures thereof with flax and hemp, as also with wool*, constitute a growing and very promising branch. In several of the states, factories of this raw material have been commenced. Very considerable quantities of goods are made of it, in the household way, and particularly in the southern states

of all of which it is a production. The articles usually made are corduroys, velverets, jeans, fustians and plain and striped cloths, for women's use, hosiery, thread, fringe, cord and tassels, counterpanes and coverlets, candle-wick, and, when mixed with wool, very large quantities of negro clothing. Connected with this branch is the business of callico printing, in which some promising attempts have been made.

## VI.

*Ships and boats*, with their numerous and requisite appurtenances, constitute a branch much less valuable in money than the preceding; but considering how necessary they are to agriculture and manufactures, as well as to commerce and the fisheries, they appear to be of primary importance. These are constructed upon the most favourable terms, and with great perfection.

## VII.

*Paper of all kinds*, forms a very beneficial branch, of considerable and increasing extent. The species made are paper hangings, playing cards, paste-boards, fullers or press papers, sheathing and wrapping paper, writing and printing paper of various kinds and qualities, except the largest and most costly; appurtenant to this branch is the very increasing and highly useful business of book printing. From the abundance of mill seats, and the respectable establishment of the paper manufactory in some of the states, it is manifest, that a much more considerable saving or gain might be derived to the country, with the requisite attention to the preservation of the old and otherwise useless materials.

## VIII.

*Sugars refined in various degrees*, form a branch so perfectly established as to require little attention but to the acquisition of the raw material.

## IX.

*Cabinet wares and turnery*, both of the simplest and most elegant kinds, are made in quantities commensurate with the demand, as well of native as foreign materials. Connected with these in some degree, is the manufacture of many kinds of musical instruments, which has gained a footing within a few years, that promises an establishment adequate to the occasions of the United States. Other manufactures of wood are made in great quantities, such as coopers' wares, corn fans, and other implements of husbandry, almost every species of mill work, and lately the most valuable and curious manufacturing machinery in various branches.

## X.

*Wares of the precious metals*, (gold and silver) including set work, and jewellery, are made in great variety and extent. The latest addition to this branch is the manufacturing of plated ware, which, however, is not yet considerable or established.

## XI.

*Manufactures of the mixed metals and of lead and copper*, have obtained various degrees of establishment. Those of brass are the most extensive, and, combined with iron and wood, there is a considerable variety. Household utensils, technical and philosophical instruments and materials, furniture and materials for houses and carriages, and for the building and furnishing of ships, a few barrels and some furniture of fire arms, are manufactured of brass. Pewter and hard metal are very much confined to family utensils, distillers worms, printing types, and buttons. The last article is made with great neatness and variety in a few shops. Lead is worked into ball, sheets, and every form requisite for the building and finishing of houses and vessels, and for the linings and coverings of wood, which is exposed to water. Successful attempts to manufacture leaden shot of various sizes, have been made.

Copper wares of various kinds, are made in the United States. These are utensils for distillers, sugar-refiners, brewers, and other manufacturers, and for domestic and ship use, articles to be applied in the building of vessels, and in short, all those things which are requisite to useful and ordinary purposes.

Tin wares, for all useful purposes, are well manufactured.

## XII.

*Manufactures from fruits, grain, and seeds*, are very considerable. Of the first, distilled spirits are the whole. Of similar liquors from apples, the quantity is large; of those from peaches, it is much less, but the quality, when the liquor is matured, is exquisite: both are increasing. Of the manufactures from grain and seeds (exclusive of meal of all kinds and biscuit) there is a greater value. These are distilled spirits, malt, malt liquors, starch, hair powder, wafers, and oil. These articles could be made in quantities commensurate with the demand; and the several branches are well understood.

## XIII.

*The manufacture of gunpowder*, has advanced with the greatest rapidity to the point of desire in regard both to quantity and quality. The hazards and expenses of importation, the cheapness of charcoal, of the requisite packages, and of mill seats and mill work, in the United States, are among the principal causes, which have produced so accelerated a progress.

## XIV.

*Manufactures of glass, of earthen ware, and of stone, mixed with clay*, are all in an infant state. From the quantity and variety of the materials, which must have been deposited by nature in so extensive a region as the United States, from the abundance of fuel which they contain, from the expense of importation, and loss by fracture, which falls on glass and earthen wares, from the simpli-



city of many of these manufactures, and from the great consumption of them, impressions of surprise at this state of them, and a firm persuasion that they will receive the early attention of foreign or American capitalists, are at once produced. Coarse tiles, and bricks of an excellent quality, pot ers wares, all in quantities beyond the home consumption, a few ordinary vessels and utensils of stone mixed with clay, some mustard and snuff bottles, a few flasks or flaggons, a small quantity of sheet glass and of vessels for family use, generally of the inferior kinds, are all that are now made.

### XV.

*Manufactures from the fat and bones of sea and land animals*, form a class of considerable importance. These are the several kinds of oil, soap, spermaceti and tallow candles, articles made of whalebone, sal ammoniac, and volatile salt.

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IN addition to the above branches or classes, there are manufactured, (besides the quantities requisite for the home demand) a considerable value for exportation, of the following miscellaneous articles—potashes and pearlashes, chewing and smoking tobacco and snuff, cheese, working and pleasurable carriages, Windsor and varnished chairs, oil of turpentine and rosin, wool and cotton cards, and other implements and utensils for manufacturing: and a large value for home consumption of fur hats, brushes for domestic and technical purposes, whips and canes, manufactures of horn; mill stones and hewn stone, lampblack, ochres and other painters colours, some gale-nical and chemical preparations, clocks and watches, wearing apparel, and a few manufactures of silk.



Schedule of the whole number of persons within the several districts of the United States, according to an act "providing for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States," passed March the 1st, 1790.

DISTRICTS.	Free white males of sixteen years and upwards, including heads of families.	Free white males under sixteen years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
* Vermont,	22,435	22,328	40,505	252	16	85,539
N. Hampshire,	36,086	34,851	70,160	630	158	141,185
Maine,	24,384	24,748	46,870	538	none.	96,540
Massachusetts,	95,453	87,289	190,582	5,462	none.	378,787
Rhode-Island,	16,019	15,799	32,652	3,407	948	68,825
Connecticut,	60,523	54,403	117,448	2,808	2,764	237,946
New-York,	83,700	78,122	152,320	4,654	21,324	340,120
New-Jersey,	45,251	41,416	83,287	2,762	11,453	184,139
Pennsylvania,	110,788	106,948	206,353	6,537	3,737	434,373
Delaware,	11,783	12,143	22,384	3,899	8,887	59,094
Maryland,	55,915	51,339	101,395	8,043	103,036	319,728
{ Virginia,	110,936	116,135	215,046	12,866	292,627	747,610
{ Kentucky,	15,154	17,057	28,922	114	12,430	73,677
North Carolina,	69,988	77,506	140,710	4,975	100,572	393,751
† S. Carolina,						
Georgia,	13,103	14,044	25,730	348	29,264	82,548
						3,643,862
					587,220	near $\frac{1}{8}$
					Slaves.	Total.
S. W. territory,	6,271	10,277	15,365	361	3,417	35,091
N. W. territory,†						

Truly stated from the original returns deposited in the office of the Secretary of state. T. JEFFERSON.

October 24, 1791.

\* This return was not signed by the marshal, but was inclosed and referred to in a letter written and signed by him.

† Note by the editor. The population of South-Carolina, is conjectured to be near 150,000 Whites and near 100,000 Blacks.

‡ Note by the same. The population of the north-western government is supposed to be a few thousands, exclusively of the military.





[PAPER B.]

Treasury department,  
Feb. 15, 1791.

S I R,

*I* Do myself the honour to transmit through you to the house of representatives, a general return of the exports of the United States, abstracted from custom house returns, commencing on the various days in August 1789, whereon they were respectively opened, and ending on the 30th of September last. From inadvertence in some of those offices, the space of time prior to the first of October 1789, was blended with the quarter following, which prevented an uniform commencement of this abstract on that day; and there is yet a deficiency of many of the returns for the last quarter of the year 1790, which confines the abstract to the 30th of September last. The progress which was made in this form of statement of the exports, prior to the order of the house, and the impossibility of having it completed in the form directed by them, before the fourth of March next, have occasioned me to offer it in its present shape.

*I have the honour to be,*

*With the greatest respect, sir,*

*Your most obt. and most humble servt.*

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

*Secretary of the Treasury.*

The honourable the Speaker  
of the house of representa-  
tives of the United States.

*Abstract of the exports of the United States, from the commencement of the custom houses in the several states, which was at different times in August, 1789, to the 30th day of September, 1790.*

EXPORTED.

	Quantity.		Value.
<b>A</b> SHES, pot,	7,05 $\frac{10}{100}$	tons, dolls.	661,634
Ashes, pearl,	1,548 $\frac{55}{100}$	do.	177,459 50
Apples,	5,898	barrels,	6,318
Boats,	8		372
		Carried over	<u>845,783,50</u>

		<i>Brought over</i>	845,783 50
Bombshells	10	tons,	100
Bricks	870,550		2,617 50
Beer and porter	472	casks	4,612
Brandy	97	do.	3,016
Cordials	236	boxes	637
Cordage			5,739
Carriages	220		28,017
Candies, tallow	149,680	lbs.	14,876
Candles, wax	5,274	do.	2,461
Candles, myrtle	249	do.	52
Cyder	442	barrels	849
Cotton	2,027	bales	58,408
Coffee	254,752	lbs.	45,753
Chocolate	29,882	do.	3,537
Cocoa	10,632	do.	950
Cassia and cinnamon,	9,392	do.	9,715
Deer skins			33,009
Duck, American	77	bolts	777
Duck, Russia	220	do.	2,200
Earthen and glass ware			1,990
Essence spruce	115	boxes	600
Flaxseed	40,019	casks	236,072
Flax	21,970	lbs.	1,468
Furs			60,515
Furniture			8,351
<i>Fishery.</i>			
{ Fish dried	378,721	quintals	828,531
{ Fish pickled	36,804	barrels	113,165
{ Oil, whale	15,765	do.	124,908
{ Oil, spermaceti	5,431	do.	79,542
{ Candles, do.	70,397	lbs.	27,724
{ Whalebone	121,281	do.	20,417
<i>Grain.</i>			
{ Buckwheat	7,562	busshels	2,572
{ Corn	2,102,137	do.	1,083,581
{ Oats	98,842	do.	20,900
{ Rye	21,765	do.	13,181
{ Wheat	1,124,458	do.	1,398,998
Ginseng	813	casks	47,024
Gunpowder	5,800	lbs.	861
Gin	18,025	galls.	16,989
Grindstones	203		450
		<i>Carried over</i>	5,150,948

*Brought over*

Hair powder	12,534	lbs.	5,150,948
Hats	668		1,687
Hay	2,126	tons	1,392
Horns			12,851
Iron-mongery			1,052
Iron, pig	3,555	tons	7,878
Iron, bar	200	do.	91,379
Indigo	612,119	lbs.	16,723
<i>Live stock.</i>			
{ Horned cattle	5,406		537,379
{ Horses	8,628		99,960
{ Mules	237		339,516
{ Sheep	10,058		8,846
{ Hogs	5,304		17,039
{ Poultry	3,704	doz.	14,481
<i>Lumber.</i>			
{ Staves & head-			
ing	36,402,301		463,229
Shingles	67,331,115		120,151
Shook hogheads	52,558		32,002
Hoops	1,908,310		19,598
Boards	46,747,730		260,213
Handspikes	2,361	doz.	1,505
Casks	2,423		3,697
Scantling	8,719,638	feet	95,308
Lumber diff. kinds		feet	128,503
Timber do.		do.	139,328
Leather	22,698	lbs.	5,302
Logwood	264	tons	3,911
Lignum vitæ	176	do.	1,760
Lead and shot	6	do.	810
Mahogany			18,531
Medicines and drugs			1,735
Merchandize			28,156
Melasses	15,537	gallons	3,904
Muskets	100		500
Nankeens	11	bales	2,315
Oil, linseed	119	barrels	1,962
<i>Provisions.</i>			
{ Flour	724,623	barrels	4,591,293
{ Bread	75,667	do.	209,674
{ Meal	99,973	do.	302,694

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*Carried over* 12,743,475

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		<i>Brought over</i>	12,743,475
Peas and beans	38,752	bush.	25,746
Beef	44,662	barrels	279,551
Pork	24,462	do.	208,099
Hams and bacon	253,555	lbs.	19,728
Butter	8,379	firkins	48,587
Cheese	144,734	lbs.	8,830
Potatoes	5,318	barrels	6,009
Tongues	641	do.	1,598
Onions, vegetables			22,936
Hogs lard	6,355	firkins	31,745
Honey	105	do.	900
Oysters, pickled	272	kegs	272
Pimento	715	bags	4,928
Pepper	6,100	lbs.	1,440
Paper	169	reams	381
Paint	4,650	lbs.	963
Pitch	8,875	barrels	17,488
Raw hides	230		485
Raw silk	177	lbs.	489
Rosin	316	barrels	778
Rice	100,845	tierces	1,753,796
Rum, American	370,331	galls.	135,403
Rum, West India	12,623	do.	5,795
Raisins	213	casks	1,205
Salt	31,935	bushels	8,236
Sago	2,319	lbs.	455
Soap	597	boxes	3,967
Snuff	15,350	lbs.	5,609
Seeds and roots			2,135
Shoes and boots	5,862	pairs	5,741
Sadlery			5,541
Starch			1,125
Sugar loaf	16,429	lbs.	3,432
Sugar, brown	33,358	do.	2,237
Saffraas	49,504	do.	555
Steel	163	bundles	978
Stones, sawed	170		550
Tallow	200,020	lbs.	20,722
Tobacco	118,460	hhd.	4,349,567
Tea	1,672	chests	121,582

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*Carried over* 19,852,879

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	[ 135 ]		dolls.
	<i>Brought over</i>		19,852,879
Tar	85,067	barrels	126,116
Turpentine	28,326	do.	72,541
Do. spirits	193	do.	1,032
Tow cloth	67	pieces	1,274
Vinegar	24	casks	106
Wines	1,074	pipes	83,249
Wax	231,158	lbs.	57,597
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To the north-west coast of America,			20,194,794
Amount of several returns received }			10,362
since the 15th February 1791. }			210,810.84
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<i>Total,</i>			*20,415,966.84

\* Quarterly returns from several small districts, are deficient.

*A summary of the value and destination of the exports of the United States, agreeably to the foregoing abstract.*

To the dominions of France	—	4,698,735.48
To the dominions of Great Britain	—	9,363,416.47
To the dominions of Spain	—	2,005,907.16
To the dominions of Portugal	—	1,283,462.
To the dominions of the Unit. Netherlands	—	1,963,880. 9
To the dominions of Denmark	—	224,415.50
To the dominions of Sweden	—	47,240.
To Flanders	—	14,298
To Germany	—	487,787.14
To the Mediterranean	—	41,298
To the African islands and coast of Africa	—	139,984
To the East-Indies	—	135,181
To the north-west coast of America	—	10,362

Dollars, 20,415,966.84

IN addition to the foregoing, a considerable number of packages have been exported from the United States, the value of which, being omitted in the returns from the custom-houses, could not be introduced into this abstract.

*Treasury department, Feb. 18th, 1791.*

TENCH COXE, *Assistant Secretary.*

2/3/70



2/3/70